

**Re-Formation of Identity: The 19<sup>th</sup>-century Jain Pilgrimage Site of Shatrunjaya, Gujarat**

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
BY

Hawon Ku Kim

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Frederick M. Asher  
Name of Advisor

March 2007

UMI Number: 3256870

Copyright 2007 by  
Kim, Hawon Ku

All rights reserved.

#### INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



---

UMI Microform 3256870

Copyright 2007 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.  
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© Hawon Ku Kim 2007

## Acknowledgements

From the beginning of this project to the final writing, many institutions and people have guided and helped me.

I cannot express how much I owe to Rick Asher, who first accepted me into the Graduate Program of the Department of Art History and provided guidance and critical insight throughout the process of researching and writing. Cathy Asher, in addition to reading and critiquing my numerous papers and drafts, introduced me to modern and contemporary Islamic and South Asian art; my love of all things of the 19<sup>th</sup> century formed a basis of this dissertation. Ajay Skaria helped me navigate through a complex world of historical theories and approaches in South Asian history. Kate Solomonson suggested many interesting ideas related to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and provided an infectious enthusiasm when I had almost lost confidence in my project. William W. Malandra and Joseph Schwartzberg, although both retired now, gave invaluable advice and support on my early work. I am most thankful to these faculty, who have guided me throughout the years at the University of Minnesota.

Although the dissertation was written at the University of Minnesota, faculty members from other institutions also offered support and helpful criticism. I sincerely thank John Cort, Department of Religious Studies, Denison University, not only for the time and effort he put in to make meticulous comments on my drafts, but also for his unwavering support. Peter Fluegel, SOAS, provided an opportunity for me to discuss my work among Jain scholars, at the Jain Studies Workshop, SOAS, which was most helpful in situating my project within a larger context of Jain studies. Nalini Balbir, at this very conference, gave the keynote speech on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century formation of Jain literature, presenting me with a stronger confidence in my own project.

I also thank the various institutions which provided financial support while I was writing this dissertation. The Department of Art History, University of Minnesota, offered teaching and research assistantships for the majority of the eight years while I was working and writing as a graduate student. It also presented me with the Puffer Fellowship, which enabled me to make my first trip to India, as well as a Travel Fund for research at the India Office, London. Without the support of the department, I would not have been able to present my work at various conferences, where I received invaluable advice and comments from senior scholars as well as colleagues. The American Institute of Indian Studies Junior Research Fellowship allowed me to make my major research trip, and provided many introductions and administrative help throughout my work in India. For my final writing, the University of Minnesota Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship awarded me with much needed time off from the duties of teaching.

Donald C. Johnson and David Faust are other members of the University of Minnesota, who have provided much help with my work. Without them, and the wonderful Ames Library of South Asia, I could not have finished this dissertation.

My colleagues have been equally, if not more, supportive and helpful with my project. Deepali Dewan Hobbs and Jennifer Joffee helped with my very first proposals, which formed the direction of this dissertation. Kristy Phillips, was always there for me (whether we were next door, or an ocean apart), readily reading my drafts and commenting on them. Riyaz Latif, native of Ahmedabad, most graciously helped me find

my way around the city during my first visit, and has been a wonderful friend ever since then. Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg kindly acted as a guide in spite of her busy schedules the first time I reached Shatrunjaya, and has been a wonderful correspondent on the subject. Radha Dalal helped me start with my Gujarati, encouraging me throughout the difficult process of distinguishing the various sounds. I also owe much to the members of the ABD Group, who provided a security blanket at times when it just seemed impossible.

However, this dissertation would not have been possible without the help from many, many scholars and friends in India. From the bottom of my heart, I thank these individuals, who aided me throughout the research. M.A. Dhaky, although the foremost authority in Jain architecture, always welcomed me and my ideas and suggestions. Lalit Kumar was most helpful while I was working at the LD Institute of Indology. Shridar Andhare kindly provided guidance and advice regarding the world of Indian paintings. Snehal Shah allowed me to use the facilities of his architectural firm in Ahmedabad, while also making a wonderful plan of the site. Makrand and Shirin Mehta were most enthusiastic about my project, and provided many rare articles on Jain merchants and their activities. I cannot thank Nirmala Sharma sufficiently, for she accompanied me to several Jain sites and provided me with an Indian art historian's viewpoint on many of the temples and paintings. I also thank Jayantbhai Meghani, who took much of his own time while recovering from surgery, to guide me around Shatrunjaya and other Jain sites in the area.

I sincerely thank Dr. Jitendra Shah of the LD Institute of Indology, Mr. R.D. Shah of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Mr. Animesh Sen Gupta of the Calico Museum of Textiles, Mrs. Joshi of The School of Architecture, in Ahmedabad, and Mr. Prakashbhai Jhaveri of the Motishah Trust, Mumbai, for their cooperation and support of my project.

I thank Vatsal Shah and Sudha Mehta, who helped me with my Gujarati translations. Tasneem Latif and her parents, Samir and Jagruti Pathak, Parag and Lata Rele were also so kind to let me into their families while I was working in India.

Finally, those in my private life were also most helpful in finishing this project. I thank Dokyun Lee, who accompanied me on my first trip to India, and was so helpful during times when family members were scarce. I thank my parents-in-law, who took care of the children during the short trips I had to make for India and the U.S., and numerous weekends while writing back in Korea. I thank Hyejin and Dongjin, my children who managed to survive and have grown up beautifully. And I cannot express enough gratitude and love to my husband Taesung, who encouraged me to find meanings within my own life and wholeheartedly supported it.

Throughout graduate school, my parents supported my work, providing childcare, food, family time, as well as much needed sound and sensible advice. I dedicate this book to my mother and father, who made it possible.

## **Abstract**

Shatrunjaya, located in Gujarat, India, is one of the most significant pilgrimage sites for Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains, who comprise the majority of Jains in western India. However, the histories, temples, and painted maps of the site suggest that Shatrunjaya acquired its current form only during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First, among writings depicting the site, scientific and concrete descriptions based on 19<sup>th</sup>-century colonial surveys and writings became to prevail over the traditional depictions of a sacred and abstract site. Second, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new form of patronage arose. This patronage, organized by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, a religious trust that managed the site, emphasized the sacredness of the site and replaced the traditional form of patronage in which the harvest of merit was the most important cause. The architectural plans and styles of the temples built during this period also display much change. In place of the eclectic architecture found in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples, a more rigid style based on traditional manuals and 13<sup>th</sup>-century Jain temple architecture became the norm in temple building. The final change can be found in *patas*, or painted maps, which depict Shatrunjaya. 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas* display several changes, including the sole depiction of the site, topographically accurate depiction, and isolation of the site from surrounding areas.

These changes can be linked to a series of legal cases related to the ownership of Shatrunjaya, which continued from 1820 to 1926. During this period, the local Hindu rulers of Palitana, the area surrounding Shatrunjaya, claimed ownership and their rights to tax the site, and the Jains fought back. The legal cases were taken up to British colonial authorities, and while preparing for the series of legal cases, the Jains underwent a process of re-defining their identity according to the modern notions of religion and history. By looking at the various changes and legal cases related to Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this dissertation argues that the modern identity of Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains was a socially constructed notion, based on the needs of the hegemonic forces of a particular religious community.

## Table of Contents

### List of Figures

### Notes on Transliteration

1. Shatrunjaya, Gujarat .....	1
2. The Historiography of Shatrunjaya .....	25
3. The Patronage of Shatrunjaya .....	63
4. The Architecture of Shatrunjaya .....	93
5. The Shatrunjaya <i>Patas</i> .....	131
6. The Ownership of Shatrunjaya and the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi .....	170
7. Producing the Histories and Silences of Shatrunjaya .....	201
Appendices .....	206
Figures .....	229
Selected Bibliography .....	278

## List of Figures

(All figures are by Hawon Ku Kim, unless stated otherwise.)

- 1-1. Distant view of Shatrunjaya Hill.
- 1-2. Map of Gujarat. Map, in James M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Volume 1 Part 1: History of Gujarat*, Second ed., (Gurgaon, Haryana: Vipin Jain for Vintage Books, 1989): n.p.
- 1-3. Temples at the bottom of the Shatrunjaya Hill. Postcard from the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Palitana.
- 1-4. Distant View of northern summit, Shatrunjaya.
- 1-5. View of northern summit and valley temples of Shatrunjaya.
- 1-6. Path towards the Main Adishvara Temple, southern summit of Shatrunjaya.
- 1-7. Map of Jain sites in India. Map in Pratapaditya Pal ed., *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994): 11.
- 1-8. Map of British India and the Princely States. Map in Charles Allen and Sharada Dwivedi, *Lives of the Indian Princes*, (London: Century Pub. in association with the Taj Hotel Group, 1984): 6-7.
  
- 3-1. Map of Shatrunjaya. Map from Vinod Makhesana, "Geometric Formalism and Nature of the Land: Study of Satrunjayagiri, Jain Tirtha," (Ahmedabad: School of Architecture, 1991): 67.
- 3-2. Main Adishvara Temple and Rayana tree. Postcard from Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Palitana.
- 3-3. View of southern summit, with Main Adishvara Temple at far right.
- 3-4. Main Adishvara Temple.
- 3-5. Path towards Main Adishvara Temple on southern summit.
- 3-6. Valley temples in Foreground, with southern summit in back. Postcard from Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Palitana.
- 3-7. Adbaji, with domed roof (L), and image of 18-feet Adinatha (R). Right image from Gunratna Surishwar, *A Visit to Shatrunjaya*, (Mumbai: Adhyatmik Shikshan Kendra, 1998): 114.
- 3-8. Temples on northern summit.
- 3-9. Chaumukh Tunk, Caumukh Temple. Plate VI from James Burgess, *Temples of Shatrunjaya, the Celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage, near Palitana in Kathiawad, with Historical and Descriptive Introduction*, Reprint, (Gandhinagar; Delhi: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagwan Mahavira Nirvan; exclusive distributors Motilal Banarsidass, 1976): n.p.
- 3-10. Shantinath Temple, Motishah Tunk.
  
- 4-1. Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, Ujambi Tunk, northern summit. 1837, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-2. Inner shrine of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple. Gunratna Surishwar, 1998, 119.
- 4-3. Screens of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, exterior.
- 4-4. Screen of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, interior.
- 4-5. Balconies on *tunk* walls of Ujambai Tunk.
- 4-6. Plan of a Maru-Gurjara Jain temple. Mahavira Temple, 1062, Kumbhariya,

Gujarat. Figure 3 in Madhusudan A. Dhaky and Udayaravi S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhariya*, (New Delhi; Ahmedabad: American Institute of Indian Studies; Lalbai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, 2001): 53.

- 4-7. Interior of a Maru-Gurjara Jain Temple. Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat., Plate 41 in Dhaky, 2001, n.p.
- 4-8. Exterior of Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat. Plate 1 in Dhaky, 2001, n.p.
- 4-9. Plan of Adinath Temple (“Dharana Vihara”). 1440-1500, Ranakpur, Gujarat. Text Fig. 1 in M.A. Dhaky, “The Western Indian Jaina Temple,” in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, edited by Madhusudan A. Dhaky and U.P. Shah, (Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavir Nirvana; Distributed by L.D. Institute of Indology, 1975): 322.
- 4-10. Adinath Temple (“Dharana Vihara”). Image courtesy of CLA Digital Content Library, University of Minnesota.
- 4-11. Kumarpal Temple renovation, southern summit of Shatrunjaya, 2003.
- 4-12. Detailed Plan of Main Adishvara Temple complex, Shatrunjaya. Makhesana, 1991, 51.
- 4-13. Plan of Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk within the valley. c.1837, Shatrunjaya. Map from Makhesana, 1991, 49.
- 4-14. Plan of Jain temples at Mount Abu. From 11<sup>th</sup> century, Mount Abu, Rajasthan. Fig 20.51 in Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, (New York: Weatherhill, Inc, 1993): 491.
- 4-15. Interior of Vimala’s Temple. Mount Abu. Image courtesy of CLA Digital Content Library, University of Minnesota.
- 4-16. Courtyard of Motishah Tunk, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-17. View of *tunk* walls, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-18. Balcony on Main temple, Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-19. Balcony on *tunk* wall of Ujambai Tunk.
- 4-20. Akbar’s Darshan-i Jharoka, Daftar Khana. 1571-1585, Fatehpur Sikri. Plate 30 in Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India: Architecture of Mughal India*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 62.
- 4-21. Balcony on second level, Ajitnatha Temple. 1152-1174, Taranga, Gujarat.
- 4-22. Balcony on Main Adishvara Temple, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-23. Second level interior leading to balconies, Main temple, Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-24. View from *tunk* balcony, Ujambai Tunk, towards the Main Adishvara Temple on southern summit.
- 4-25. Baluster columns, Sakar Shah Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya.
- 4-26. Baluster columns of the throne. Completed 1648, Red Fort, Delhi. Fig. 4-2 in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, (Oxford; New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 69.
- 4-27. Screens on temples on Mount Abu. From 11<sup>th</sup> century, Mount Abu, Rajasthan. Image courtesy of CLA Digital Content Library, University of Minnesota.
- 4-28. Screens on Ajitnath Temple, Taranga.
- 4-29. Stone screens, King’s Tomb. c. 1490, Sarkhej, Gujarat. Image courtesy of CLA

Digital Content Library, University of Minnesota.

4-30. Main temple, Hathee Singh Temple. 1848, Ahmedabad. From M.A. Dhaky ed., *Hutheesing Heritage: The Jain Temple at Ahmedabad*, (Ahmedabad: Hutheesing Kesarising Trust, 1998): 25.

4-31. Plan of Hathee Singh temple, Ahmedabad. Dhaky, 1998, 44.

4-32. Balcony on back of Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad. Dhaky, 1998, 28.

4-33. Marble Floors of the open entrance hall (*rangamandapa*), Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad. Dhaky, 1998, 32.

5-1. Contemporary Shatrunjaya *pata* from Haribhai Painters, Palitana.

5-2. Worshipers in front of Shatrunjaya *patas* at Sarovar Khan Market, Patan. Figure 6-10 in John Cort, *Jains of the World*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 178.

5-3. View of path up Shatrunjaya Hill.

5-4. Relief of snake and peacock, on shrine surrounding the Rayan Tree behind Main Adishvara Temple, in Main Adishvara Temple complex, southern summit, Shatrunjaya. Gunratna Surishwar, 1998, 93.

5-5. Image of five Pandava Brothers at Shatrunjaya, Panch Pandava Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya. Gunratna Surishwar, 1998, 123.

5-6. #1, Appendix D. "Neminath Temple, Girnar," partial view of *tirtha pata*. Dated 1433, from Champaner. Divided between the Jain Tadapatriya Pustak Bhandar and the LD Museum, Ahmedabad. Plate D in Nanalal C. Mehta, "A Picture Roll from Gujarat (A.D. 1433)," *Indian Art and Letters* New Series VI, no. 2 (1932): n.p.

5-7. #4, Appendix D. *Tirtha Pata*. Early 15<sup>th</sup> century, western India. San Diego Museum of Art. Plate 1 in B.N. Goswamy and Caron Smith, *Domains of Wonder : Selected Masterworks of Indian Painting*, (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art ; 2005): 29

5-8. #5, Appendix D. *Tirtha pata with Parshvanath*. 15<sup>th</sup> century, western India. Collection of Muni Amaravijaya. Plate 188 in Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings of Western India*, (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, 1949): opposite p. 114.

5-9. #6, Appendix D. *Tirtha Pata*. 1641CE, Ahmedabad. Collection of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Ahmedabad. Photograph courtesy of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Ahmedabad.

5-10. Detail of #6. Photograph courtesy of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.

5-11. #7, Appendix D. Top part of *Vividha Tirtha Pata*. 1641CE, western India. Collection of Samvegi Jain Upashraya, Ahmedabad. Insert page in Shridhar Andhare, "Painted Banners on Cloth: Vividha-Tirtha-Pata of Ahmedabad," *Marg* 31, no. 4 (1979): opposite page 41.

5-12. Bottom part of #7. Andhare, 1979, opposite page 41.

5-13. Details of #7. Andhare, 1979, 42.

5-14. #9, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. c.18<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat. Brooklyn Museum of Art, N.Y. Photograph courtesy of Brooklyn Museum of Art.

5-15. #10, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. 1792CE, Gujarat. LD Museum of Art,

Ahmedabad. Photograph courtesy of LD Museum of Art, Ahmedabad.

- 5-16. #12, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. c.18<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat. Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad. Photography courtesy of Calico Museum of Textiles.
- 5-17. #13, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. c. early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jaipur or Gujarat. Collection of Paul F. Walter. Figure 43 in Pal ed., 1994, 64.
- 5-18. #14, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat. Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad. Photograph courtesy of Calico Museum of Textiles.
- 5-19. #16, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat. Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen. Plate 54 in Jan Van Alphen ed., *Steps to Liberation: 2,500 years of Jain Art and Religion*, (Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen, 2000): 129.
- 5-20. #19, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya pata*. After 1837, Gujarat. Collection of Navin Kumar. Cat. 117 in Pal, 1994, 252.
- 5-21. #20, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. 19<sup>th</sup> century, Rajasthan, Mount Abu or Sirohi, or Gujarat. Collection of Carola Pestelli. Figure 47 in Pal, 1994, 73.
- 5-22. #21, Appendix D. *Shatrunjaya Pata*. Before 1885, Gujarat. Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad. Photograph courtesy of Calico Museum of Textiles.

6-1. “Substitute” Shatrunjaya, c. 1924, Kadamgiri, Gujarat.

## Notes on Transliteration

Studies in Jainism and/or Jain art and architecture are usually written with fully diacritical spelling. The wide variety of languages referenced in Jain studies (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Gujarati, to count a few) and needed to be translated is one reason. Another reason is the huge contribution of Indian scholars and Jain ascetics in Jain studies, who have often written in Hindi or Gujarati.

However, as a dissertation written at an American university and aimed for an American academic audience, this book does not employ diacritical spelling. The spelling of all Indic languages have been simplified and written as they are sounded. When the Sanskrit, Hindi or Gujarati terms are different, I have used the most common forms of the word. If possible, I have avoided the use of traditional terminology (in Sanskrit, Hindi, or Gujarati), unless there was no suitable translation. In these cases, the traditional terminology is written in italics with an English translation within parentheses, and if needed, with additional footnotes on the term.

Titles, such as Jina or Tirthankara, and words that have been incorporated into English are not italicized. Place names are spelled as they are on official English maps.

## **Chapter 1. Shatrunjaya, Gujarat**

### The Present

*I reached Shatrunjaya for the first time on a crisp winter day, in a bus full of pilgrims heading to the site for the consecration ceremony of a new temple. Shatrunjaya, the hill which “conquers enemies,” seemed to spring up from the surrounding flat plains of Gujarat in western India. (Figure 1-1: Distant view of Shatrunjaya Hill). This hill is one of the most important pilgrimage sites for a sect of Jains, who follow a religion founded in eastern India over 2500 years ago. Each year tens and thousands of Jains flock to this site, located at 21.5°N, 72°E next to the small town of Palitana. (Figure 1-2: Map of Gujarat). Passing through Palitana I reached the official entrance at the bottom of the hill, which had a small office to purchase photography permits. From here to the top of the hill, where more than 150 temples are located 600 meters above sea level, was a path carefully laid with stone slabs and steps, and lined with small shrines continuously visited by pilgrims, monks, nuns, and tourists who dotted the landscape with bright colors: red, yellow, orange, and white (Figure 1-3).*

*It takes about three hours (two for a seasoned climber) to reach the top of the hill. Most pilgrims start climbing as soon as they get off the bus. As they usually stay an average of three days in Palitana, it is important to take every opportunity for a sacred experience at the site. Ascetics and devout pilgrims climb barefooted, and it is expected of all visitors to maintain a respectful demeanor: no eating, drinking, joking, or horsing around. Starting at the bottom of the hill, the pilgrims offer the customary worship to the plentiful, and almost identical, images within the temples. They sing devotional hymns*

*accompanied with the eight offerings (for example, flowers and sandalwood paste), and follow rituals laid out in small booklets which enumerate the main temples and images to be visited en route. These guidebooks usually describe five important temples, of which the Main Adishvara Temple is the most significant at Shatrunjaya. Pilgrims leave the hill top before dusk, most of them heading to pilgrims' guesthouses in Palitana, as the site is closed to everyone at night. No one remains on the top of the hill, except for a few guards who watch over the main gates of the temples. Shatrunjaya becomes a city of gods, no longer populated (or polluted) by mortals.*

*Climbing about half of the 4000 steps, I could see the cobalt blue waters of the Shetrungi Reservoir flowing into the Gulf of Cambay, which was a stark contrast to the surrounding landscape, dry and parched brown. Here I received the first darshan (beholding)<sup>1</sup> of the temples crowning Shatrunjaya, sparkling with a fresh coat of an ivory-tinted white paint. (Figure 1-4). Most of the temples were crowned with high superstructures, or shikharas, which indicated the presence of a deity. There were pillared halls covered with domes added to the temples, depending on the size of each temple. Smaller shrines, some no larger than a telephone box, were lined up around the temples and sprinkled throughout the hill top. Of the two summits and valley that form the site on the top of the hill, the northern summit and the valley (with their 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples) were relatively deserted (Figure 1-5). On the other hand, the southern summit, with a long meandering path leading to the famous Main Adishvara Temple, was crowded*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Darshan* means “seeing” in Sanskrit, and is used to indicate the viewing of a divine image. As the “single most common and significant element of … worship” in indigenous South Asian religions, *darshan* is not only an act of visual apprehension, but also an act charged with religious meaning. This act allows the worshiper to receive blessings and the power bestowed by the gods. Diana Eck, *Darsan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998): 1.

*with pilgrims. (Figure 1-6)*

*Apart from pilgrims there were only a few tourists, recognizable by their lighthearted bearings as well as their casual jeans and tee shirts. In spite of my carefully selected clothes I was obviously an outsider, taking notes and photographs within the sacred space. Most of the pilgrims simply passed by with curious looks on their faces, although some nuns (and guards) came up to ask questions about my work (and permits). Throughout my research and writing I was asked many questions, some which I have also asked myself: What brings me to this topic? Why am I focusing on a site that apart from being intellectually interesting, has no personal relationship to me, located in a land on which I had never before set foot? What does Shatrunjaya have to do with my life, my present?*

### Questions

This dissertation tells several different but related stories of Shatrunjaya mostly set during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The stories were formed from responses to questions that were raised during my research and visits; i.e., who are these people, and what are they doing here? When did this—the “formation” of Shatrunjaya—happen? And, why is this place so important to them? At first glance, the answers seemed to be unambiguous. First of all, Shatrunjaya is one of the holiest pilgrimage sites for Shvetambar Murtipujak Jains, a sect which comprises the majority of Jains in western India.<sup>2</sup> All Jains follow the preachings

---

<sup>2</sup> Jains can be largely divided into Shvetambaras, who owe religious alliances to “white-clad” ascetics, and Digambaras, who follow “sky-clad,” or naked, ascetics. However, there are not many significant differences in the theology of the two sects. Within the Shvetambara sect, there are several sub-sects, including the Murtipujaks who worship images. Some sub-sects of the Shvetambara sect do not worship images; for example, the Sthanakvasis do not worship images,

of 24 human teachers, otherwise known as Tirthankaras (ford-makers) or Jinas (conquerors).<sup>3</sup> These teachers themselves were believed to have overcome the passions of life, and to have finally obtained enlightenment, escaping the cycle of rebirth. The most significant of Jain tenets is the observation of the Three Jewels (right knowledge, right faith, right conduct), although *ahimsa* (non-injury), one of the five vows that a Jain takes, and the resultant vegetarianism is also well known. While male and female ascetics endeavor to strictly follow the vows, lay people comprise a greater portion of Jains, and follow a less stringent code of conduct.

The most significant acts of Jain worship for both ascetics and lay people include daily worship at temples and pilgrimage. As rites of commemoration, Jain pilgrimage is focused on (real and imaginary) travel to important sites related to the lives of the 24 Tirthankaras. These sites differ according to each sect of Jainism, and for Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains, the most sacred sites are Sammeta Shikhara and Pawapuri in Bihar, Shatrunjaya and Girnar in Gujarat, Mount Abu in Rajasthan, and Ashtapada, a site believed to be in the Himalayas. (Figure 1-7: Jain sites of India) Among these sites, Shatrunjaya is worshiped as the ancient site where the first Tirthankara, Adishvara, preached his first sermon; also it is believed that his son Bharata built the first Jain temple on Shatrunjaya and achieved liberation at the site. Pundarika, the chief disciple of

---

thus do not worship at Shatrunjaya. Although there is no precise number available, it is widely believed that the majority of Jains in India, especially in Gujarat and Rajasthan, are Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains. Natubhai Shah, *Jainism: The World of Conquerors*, vol. 1, (Brighton; Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 1998): 75.

<sup>3</sup> The title “Tirthankara” indicates that the 24 teachers have “made (*kara*) a ford (*tirtha*),” or established a sacred space (*tirtha*) where they can cross the river of rebirth to liberation. Another meaning is based on the translation that the teachers have established the four places (*tirtha*) of the Jain community, which are those of the male and female ascetics, laymen and laywomen. Jina translates into conqueror, signifying that the teacher has “conquered” the bonds of karma, and thus obtained enlightenment.

Adishvara, and numerous others, including the five Pandava brothers of Indian literature, are also believed to have achieved liberation at the site.

This celebrated sacredness of Shatrunjaya would have been the main reason for continued worship at the site. But further research only produced inconsistencies and more questions, which were not discussed in most stories of Shatrunjaya. Pilgrimage itself is not a formal requirement in Jainism, sometimes even condemned in earlier literature.<sup>4</sup> Probably as a result, none of the Jain canonical literature discuss the site in detail. However, numerous traditional sources including Jain poems and pilgrimage stories extol the sanctity of Shatrunjaya and how a person may receive spiritual benefits by simply visiting the site.

In spite of its alleged antiquity, the earliest dated remains on Shatrunjaya are only from the eleventh century, with a large majority of the present temples and shrines built during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. If it was such an ancient site, why are there so few “ancient” temples? On the other hand, if it was/is such a sacred site, why didn’t the Jains continue to build major temples at Shatrunjaya throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and even now? Moreover, a large number of cloth paintings depicting Shatrunjaya were produced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only to be ignored in most art histories. What brought the sudden rush in producing these paintings? In addition to temples and paintings, new types of writings about Shatrunjaya were produced for the first time during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These were

---

<sup>4</sup> According to Phyllis Granoff, the earliest texts in the Shvetambara tradition condemn pilgrimages in Hinduism and only begin talking about meritorious places during the earliest centuries of the Common Era. In a similar fashion, Digambara sources start listing names of pilgrimage sites only during the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Phyllis Granoff, "Jain Pilgrimage: In Memory and Celebration of the Jinas," in *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India* edited by Pratapaditya Pal, (New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994): 63-76.

documents related to a series of legal cases regarding the ownership of the site. The first time Shatrunjaya became the exclusive subject of a book was also during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in a study of the site written by a Westerner. Thus, while Shatrunjaya is now accepted as an ancient sacred site, centrally located within the perception of Jains, the writings surrounding Shatrunjaya suggested otherwise. The silences of the past (and present) suggested dynamic, changing, and suppressed histories. And the following chapters, summarized at the end of the introduction, were structured around questions related to these silences.

During the actual writing process, I also stumbled upon more dissertation-related questions; e.g., for whom am I writing the history of Shatrunjaya? What will the readers expect from my dissertation, and do I have to conform to these expectations? What are the problematic issues inherent to Shatrunjaya, and how will I address these? How will I write the history of Shatrunjaya—or, what kind of language will I use, and how will I validate these selections to my committee, to the academic community, and to the public? Where will I begin, and where will I end? Finally, how will this dissertation contribute to the discipline of art history, the historiography of South Asia, the patrons of Shatrunjaya? The next part of the introduction discusses this category of questions. The questions I ask and the directions I select reflect “the world that [I] live in and the forms of histories that have both helped produce it and which it has produced.”<sup>5</sup> And thus the questions themselves demand specific scrutiny.

---

<sup>5</sup> Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1991): 70.

### For whom: the Academia and the Public

According to historian Keith Jenkins, “history is never for itself: it is always for someone.”<sup>6</sup> As a dissertation, this project is most significantly aimed towards the academia, narrowly a review committee of the department, and furthermore a community of South Asian art history and history scholars. As an art historical dissertation, it has certain requirements; the focus has to be on a visual object, site, or form of knowledge related to the visual.<sup>7</sup> A theoretical introduction should present the framework for the topic, normally with a brief summary of present and past scholarship, and how this scholarship has contributed to the present-day reception of the topic. The contents of a dissertation are expected to include analysis of the visual material, archival research on the material and its historical circumstances, and the significance of the visual material within the society in which it was produced or consumed.

As my questions on Shatrunjaya developed and assumed more concrete forms, it became clear that the “standard story”<sup>8</sup> of traditional art historical dissertations (as summarized above) would not be adequate. According to Preziosi, what makes an

---

<sup>6</sup> Jenkins, 1991, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Recent dissertations in art history incorporate a much broader range of topics on visual culture. For example, the Indian art schools of the nineteenth century and the ways in which it operated as an intermediary between Indian craftsmen and British art have been a topic for a dissertation in South Asian art at the University of Minnesota; another discusses the collection of Impressionist paintings in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Midwest America, the reasons for accumulating such collections and the following dispersals. Deepali Dewan, PhD Dissertation, *Crafting knowledge and knowledge of crafts: art education, colonialism and the Madras School of Arts in nineteenth-century South Asia*, University of Minnesota, 2001; Janet Whitmore, PhD Dissertation, *Painting collections and the gilded age art market : Minneapolis, Chicago and St. Louis, 1870-1925*, University of Minnesota, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Tilly, “The Trouble with Stories,” in *The Social Worlds of Higher Education: Handbook for Teaching in a New Century*, edited by Ronald Aminzade and Bernice A. Pescosolido, (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1991): 258.

artwork art historical is the “pertinence [of the work] to a given field of questions,”<sup>9</sup> and Shatrunjaya simply did not prove to be a pertinent topic within traditional art history. A single approach could not provide sufficient framework for understanding the site, and although the temples and paintings of Shatrunjaya form a significant part of this dissertation, it did not present a satisfactory view of the site, especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The visual material and archives only supplied several incoherent stories of the site. These did not even appear to be significant to the society where they were produced, or to scholars, in particular, art historians.

For an art historian, the site only provided limited interest, as a specimen of later development of architecture or paintings. However, there were too many changes at the site during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all of them too intriguing to be discounted as insignificant. Thus my dissertation started to develop into a project very different from a usual art history. While seeking responses to the questions stated above and navigating the “documents” (physical as well as archival) related to Shatrunjaya, this dissertation explored various approaches from disciplines such as history, anthropology, cultural studies, and geography. The use of these approaches led to concerns of some scholars, as well as to doubts about the topic itself. The temples (or paintings, or history) of Shatrunjaya has not been studied for a reason, they advised. For example, a few art historians were not so impressed with my selection of the temples and paintings of Shatrunjaya, which aesthetically display much less intricacy compared to earlier specimens of Jain architecture or art. Some worried about my focus on the political and social changes surrounding the site during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fearing that it may lead to a

---

<sup>9</sup> Donald Preziosi, "The Question of Art History," *Critical Inquiry* XVIII (1992): 378.

disregard of the role of artists and artistic traditions within a traditional society. Other reviewers questioned another part of my dissertation, the issue of how wealthy Jain patrons formed a religious community, and whether it would make any significant contributions to the understanding of South Asia's modernity.

Yet no silence is natural. The silences in the histories of Shatrunjaya underscore the “uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production [of historical narratives].”<sup>10</sup> The silences reflected an uneven distribution of voices within the disciplines surrounding the site. The dominant voices were those of the academia, which had focused on the prevailing topics in each field: i.e. the canon and ascetics, traditional art and architecture predating the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or the progress of modernity and nationalism during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, while the academic audience is the main producer as well as consumer of historical narratives (including this dissertation), it is imperative to remember that it is not the only group. The other groups had lost their places within these dominant narratives, in which Shatrunjaya has been notably overlooked. One group is comprised of laypeople, who were the producers/consumers of non-canonical literature, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples and paintings of Shatrunjaya, and the “modern” religious history of Jainism.

Although there is a high possibility that the actual product (the dissertation) will only be read by the academic audience, fieldwork at the site itself, interviews with collectors, patrons, and pilgrims generate an ongoing process of communication. The act of research itself solicits an immediate response from the public: why are you studying this subject? Interest, pride, and (once in a while) suspicion are standard responses.

---

<sup>10</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the past: power and the production of history* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995): xix.

Renewed interest, fueled by discussions with the researcher, can correct prior erroneous beliefs on the topic, or easily revert (or distort) into impressions and ideas that fulfill the popular perceptions. The research, while never intended as such, may also end up as evidence in a legal case, as discussed in Chapter 6. This shows that the writing of a dissertation is a procedure that has to be approached with great caution.

### Art History of South Asia

The particular caution employed in the production of this dissertation is partly due to the nature of South Asian history and art history. “Post-modern” historians such as Jenkins, who critique empirical approaches and emphasize the need for a self-reflexive approach towards the past, still focus on the histories of the West, where “the conditions of post-modernism have produced that multiplicity of histories that can be met everywhere throughout our democratic/consumerizing culture, a mass of genres (designer/niche histories).”<sup>11</sup> In the case of non-Western countries, where the conditions of post-modernism may apply differently (because it is usually preconditioned with previous colonial experiences and thus much more nuanced), the historian/art historian has different (more?) limits than those studying the West, and has to be more self-reflective to their own discipline and methods.

What produces this need to be self-reflective? Art history, as a discipline formed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was based on a disciplinary model of the empirical historians who accepted the Post-Enlightenment belief that “authenticity” and “truth” can be found within evidence. However, evidence (i.e. historical documents) always has limits caused

---

<sup>11</sup> Jenkins, 1991, 65.

by the restricted numbers of archives to which the researcher has access, or the limited ability of patrons/consumers to leave written records, and as 19<sup>th</sup>-century historians Charles Langlois and Charles Seignobos have indicated, the unavoidable misrepresentations of the past created by “the mental states of the author.”<sup>12</sup> In an introduction to the discipline of history, Langlois and Seignobos argued that the uncertainty of documents and the unreliability of traces could be overcome by applying clear methodology. According to Langlois and Seignobos, since historians use the “‘historical,’ or indirect, method [which] is obviously inferior to the method of direct observation,”<sup>13</sup> they “*submissively reproduce the bias* of the [Roman, orthodox, or aristocratic] tradition”<sup>14</sup> reflected in the documents themselves. In order to overcome these limits, they argued that faults in documents can be rectified through Historical Criticism (external and internal). Thus they believed that by following specific methods, “knowledge pure and simple”<sup>15</sup> could be obtained.

Art history has been one discipline offered as an alternative, or at least, as a supportive method in history itself.<sup>16</sup> The subject matter of art history, the documents that it follows are works of art/architecture, or “physical” documents of the past, which “can shed light on the peoples who made them and on the times of their creation in a way

---

<sup>12</sup> Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the study of history*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1898): 64.

<sup>13</sup> Langlois and Seignobos, 1898, 64.

<sup>14</sup> Langlois and Seignobos, 1898, 281.

<sup>15</sup> Langlois and Seignobos, 1898, 303.

<sup>16</sup> Is art history a discipline or method? In that art history has its distinctive terminology and “methods” which “restrict” research, it could be regarded as a discipline. On the other hand, as “one of a series of discourses about the world” (Jenkins, 1991, 5) which utilizes different kinds of documents, “art history” could be simply an “art historical method” in history itself.

other historical documents cannot.”<sup>17</sup> Traditional art history expands the concepts of Historical Criticism, examining the authenticity of objects, identifying the artist, date, provenance, patron, etc. [i.e., external criticism] and then reading the iconography or position of the object in the surrounding milieu [internal criticism]. Nevertheless, the fragilities of an art historical approach become painfully apparent. Objects of art history [physical documents] invariably have limits identical to those of written documents, firstly as an extraordinarily small segment of what was produced, and moreover by reflecting only a small part of the society due to the limited nature of art/architectural patronage. Art, at least the art as commonly defined within the parameters of art history, has largely been reflections of the powerful, the way the dominant created their own and the other’s identities. This has been especially true in the history of non-Western art, in which the powerful and their productions of art have been emphasized unduly.

As a significantly Western discipline, art history has also been argued to be a powerful tool in creating modernity, through its theses that aim to “fabricate, sustain, and transform the identity and history of individuals and nations.”<sup>18</sup> In addition, modern art history was first produced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the West was preoccupied with the creation and sustenance of a colonial rule in South Asia and other parts of the world. In this context, the established canons of art history relegated South Asia and its art to the position of “lack,” a lack of Western, modern, and civilization. South Asian art history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century also classified art into packages that could be more readily consumed by the Western colonial viewers (including the art historian). Within these

---

<sup>17</sup> Fred S. Kleiner *et al.*, *Gardner’s Art through the Ages*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition, (Fort Worth; Philadelphia: Harcourt College Publishers, 2001): xviii.

<sup>18</sup> Donald Preziosi, “Art History: Making the Visible Legible,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 18.

packages of South Asian art, a dichotomy, i.e. “modern/Western” and “pre-modern/traditional” art, was produced. Evaluation of art regularly focused on standards reflecting a Western notion of uniqueness, ingenuity, and innovation. This in turn generated a subversive message that the modern/Western art of South Asia (which is merely a debased, imitative form of Western art) is inferior. Also, according to this dichotomy, the traditional (or authentic, timeless) art of pre-modern South Asia becomes an unchanging art of the past, but one that is only possible to be “understood” and “revived” by the colonizers with their advanced knowledge and interest in indigenous cultures.

In spite of many recent studies questioning and contesting this formation,<sup>19</sup> the dichotomy has remained as a strong presence in South Asian art history. Within this context, objects and sites of the nineteenth century onwards, including the site of Shatrunjaya and its related “documents” including historical writings, patronage, temples, *patas* (cloth paintings)<sup>20</sup>, and legal cases regarding ownership of the site, raise significant questions due to their ambiguity as pre-modern/traditional or modern/Western. As a result of this ambiguity, they have been marginalized in the disciplines of art and architectural history, history, cartography and related studies. By recognizing the fact that the processes of modernization and the creations of this process, for example, the binary

---

<sup>19</sup> For example, Gary Tartakov’s study of art historiography demonstrates how the writings are results of their surrounding environment, and suggests how one should constantly challenge the general ideas surrounding the “Orientalist” view of Indian art. Gary Tartakov, “Changing Views of India’s Art History,” in *Perceptions of South Asia’s Visual Past*, edited by Catherine Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf, (New Delhi; Madras: American Institute of Indian Studies; Swadharma Swarajya Sangha; Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1994): 15-36.

<sup>20</sup> *Pata* translates into cloth, curtain, or canvas, or paintings on any of these media. Although the correct transliteration of the Hindi word would be *pat*, *pata* is commonly used in art historical and cartographical studies.

categories of modern/pre-modern or enlightened/not enlightened, are not natural but constructed, it is possible to escape a formation of these binary terms, and the marginalization of Shatrunjaya. Stepping out of this discourse, acknowledging the multiple conjunctures, is one way to acknowledge the ambiguity of such structures.

### The Present: Why Now?

It is possible to question why one has to study such an ambiguously located site as Shatrunjaya. If history writing is a form of power that creates the way people think about the present through fictions of the past, then silences, absences of discussion, or “niches” that have been overlooked reflect an exertion of power. Through revealing these processes of historical production, a dissertation or research in the niche will be able to tell the role of power in history, and explain “the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others.”<sup>21</sup> By tracking the power, a richer and more comprehensive view of the historical production of Shatrunjaya and present-day South Asia will be made possible.

The work of the historian (or art historian) is inseparable from the present, which is shaped by the practices and responses of the public. On the other hand, it is imperative that I do not perpetuate the pre-existing notions or silences of the present without scrutiny. For instance, when inquiring the causes and effects of a certain phenomenon such as the rise of Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the way I pose questions may limit the answers that satisfy the question. If I focus on the site as representative of the rise of a Jain religious identity or the assertion of Jain ownership of Shatrunjaya, I would be first

---

<sup>21</sup> Trouillot, 1995, 25.

of all limiting the dissertation to the exclusive acts of a religious community. This may lead to an assertion of a religious identity in a country already fraught with communal violence, and may only reinforce the colonial notion of South Asia as a society shaped by religion, i.e. pre-modern conditions of thought. Thus it is crucial to recognize in the study of such niches (especially religious sites which can be used by a community as a representation of their identity) that India as a religious, traditional, timeless entity was constructed in order to be more easily consumed by the West (as well as the members of each religious community). The only way to avoid falling into this easily consumed form of India is to write in a condition alert to the facts and sources, and aware to the presuppositions and limits of the discipline of art history.

### The Boundaries of Time and Place

In this dissertation, I aim to reveal the silences in five aspects of Shatrunjaya, all of them related to a recent past, i.e. the 19<sup>th</sup>-century: the histories, patronage, temples, *patas*, and the legal cases of ownership. According to Michael Meister, “discrepancies” in archaeological, literary and ethnographical sources help make the picture of a site whole.<sup>22</sup> The literary, artistic, architectural and legal sources related to Shatrunjaya create a whole picture of a dynamic place with shifting meanings during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This period, the 19<sup>th</sup> century, brought massive changes to the site, including a host of temple renovation and reconstructions, as well as production of *patas* of the site, which were substantially different from earlier ones. Preziosi argued that art historical assumptions first include the idea that changes in artistic form signal changes in individual or

---

<sup>22</sup> Michael Meister, “Ethnography, art history, and the life of temples,” in *Ethnography and Personhood*, edited by Michael Meister, (New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000): 17-46.

collective mentality or intention. Second, art objects are conceived as media of communication or expression, and finally, formal changes are made in order to effect changes in an audiences' understanding.<sup>23</sup> If so, it is clear that the changes in the art and architecture of Shatrunjaya were indicative or symptomatic of the changes in their social and political milieu.

Shatrunjaya was also legally defined for the first time during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, through a series of cases regarding the ownership of the site. Thus, although the site of Shatrunjaya has existed since the earliest records in Jain literary sources<sup>24</sup> and has been visited by pilgrims continuously before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to say that the Shatrunjaya of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not the same as the Shatrunjaya of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, that is, the time of the first (non-mythical) renovations, and definitely not the first century CE, when the first temples were supposedly built. The temples, *patas*, and moreover, the histories that were unearthed and utilized on behalf of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century legal cases presented Shatrunjaya as an ancient site most holy to the Jains, fully owned and managed by the Jains, and an essential part of Jain identity. According to Jeganathan, such creations of authoritative, collective representations of a site as "ancient, aesthetic and ethnic" and in this case, representative of its religious patrons, are products of knowledge,

---

<sup>23</sup> Preziosi, 1998, 15.

<sup>24</sup> The *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya* (*The Divinity of Shatrunjaya*) was originally written during 5<sup>th</sup> century, although its current form dates to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Other early Jain sources include *Sukrtasamkirtana* (c. 1222-1242) by Arismha, which described Shatrunjaya with the pilgrimages of Vastupal, and the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, the story of pilgrimage places written by Jinaprabhasuri between 1308 and 1333. John E. Cort, *Jains in the World : Religious Values and Ideology in India*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001a): 38, and -----, "Twelve Chapters from the Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places, the Vividhartirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri," in *The Clever Adulteress & Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*, ed. Phyllis Granoff, (Oakville; New York; London: Mosaic Press, 1990): 287.

and this knowledge was made possible only during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> And the Jains themselves, or rather, a selected group of Jains, arise as irrefutable agents in the changes that happen during this period.

These Jains were in particular belonged to the Shvetambara Murtipujak sect, and were mostly merchants and active patrons at Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of these merchants were from Ahmedabad, Surat, Bombay (Mumbai) and other major cities in western India, especially Gujarat. In order to understand the life of these merchants, we have to look at the political, economic, social changes that may have affected them during this period. However, one problem with this question is that one cannot separate Gujarat, their main stage of activities, into a clear entity, geographical, political, or economic. From the indigenous Islamic histories and British histories to most recent writings, Gujarat itself appears as a historically ambiguous entity. The name Gujarat itself is a corruption of *gujara-rashtra*, “the land of the Gujjaras,” a tribe which entered India probably during the first centuries of the Common Era.<sup>26</sup> The modern state of Gujarat, India, formed in 1961 according to the Bombay Reorganization Act, comprises of three geographical regions; the Kathiawad peninsula traditionally known as Saurashtra, the isolated northwestern area of Kutch, and the southeastern mainland region with major cities such as Ahmedabad and Vadodara. (Figure 1-2) On the other hand, the Gujarati language-using boundary expands over the present state boundary to the south and east for more than a hundred miles, but does not include the areas dominated by Marathi

---

<sup>25</sup> Pradeep Jeganathan, “Authorizing History, Ordering Land: The Conquest of Anuradhapura,” in *Unmaking the Nation: The Politics of Identity and History in Modern Sri Lanka*, ed. Pradeep Jeganathan and Qadri Ismail, (Colombo: Social Scientists’ Association, 1995): 130.

<sup>26</sup> James Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Volume 1 Part 1: History of Gujarat*, Second ed., reprint, (Gurgaon, Haryana: Vipin Jain for Vintage Books, 1989): 2.

speakers, who later ruled some of the wealthiest Maratha kingdoms in Gujarat under British rule.<sup>27</sup>

As the most uncomplicated way to enter the Indian subcontinent overland, Gujarat was historically one of the first areas to encounter any external influences or excursions of Central Asian nomads or Muslim rulers. In addition to this easy access to Central Asia by land, the specific location of the peninsula overlooking the Arabian Sea caused the coastal areas of Gujarat to develop into a major center of overseas trade, especially after the discovery of the monsoons which brought ships heading for India from the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa directly to the Kathiawad Peninsula.<sup>28</sup> Thus a diverse population comprised of numerous alien and merchant communities from various religious backgrounds was created as early as the thirteenth century, and the relative remoteness of the area from the central powers of the subcontinent, including Delhi or Agra, the capitals of the former Mughal Empire (1526-1858), enabled the creation and sustenance of a culturally diverse entity.

The rise of the Maratha kingdoms during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and later establishment of the British colonial rule reinforced this diversity. Although the Mughal Empire retained its hold on urban areas, by the late-17<sup>th</sup> century most of Gujarat was divided by the newly established kingdoms of the Maratha clans. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British added Ahmedabad and a few large cities in Gujarat to the direct rule

---

<sup>27</sup> The Marathas were a Marathi-speaking group of Hindu clans, comprised of warriors and peasants with their original base in present Maharashtra. The ascendancy of the Marathas in Gujarat began in 1664 with Chhatrapati Shivaji's plunder of Surat and culminated in an attack on Ahmedabad in 1707. Although the Mughal Empire retained its governors in Ahmedabad, they paid tribute to the Marathas from 1707; by the end of the 1720s the Mughals had lost control over most of Gujarat. Campbell, 1989, 284-295.

<sup>28</sup> Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

of British India, while the rest of the area was incorporated as indirectly ruled territory. The rulers of these territories (including new Maratha rulers such as the Gaekwars of Baroda, as well as Rajas and Thakurs<sup>29</sup> descended from the traditional aristocracy, i.e. the Rajput houses with longer histories) acknowledged the sovereignty of the British Empire but had absolute authority on most state affairs excluding military and foreign policies. (Figure 1-8: Map of British/Princely India) The Kathiawad Peninsular in particular was divided into 282 Princely States, eight of them with annual incomes of over four million pounds each, while some were no larger than ten square miles in size.<sup>30</sup> Thus even though Gujarat was accepted by the British as an example of the “Indian” India ruled by indigenous rulers, it was actually a mixture of various traditions and histories. As one of the most culturally heterogeneous areas, it proves almost impossible to fully encompass the scope and diversity of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Gujarat. Also, while most patrons of Shatrunjaya were concentrated in a few major cities in western India such as Ahmedabad and Mumbai, their occupations as merchants lead to a widespread network of trade throughout Gujarat and much of South Asia. With this awareness that “completely” knowing what was influential to the patrons during this period is almost impossible, we should proceed to the next question: how?

### How?

---

<sup>29</sup> “Gaekwar” was a surname of the Maratha rulers, including the Maharaja (Great King) of Baroda, who ruled a large area of southeastern Gujarat and northern Maharashtra. “Raja (King)” and “Thakur (Lord)” were other titles used by lesser Indian rulers during the colonial rule.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Allen and Sharada Dwivedi, *Lives of the Indian Princes*, (London: Century Pub. in association with the Taj Hotel Group, 1984), 10.

Then how will I proceed with my research, specifically the histories of Shatrunjaya?

Firstly I am to maintain a reflexive methodology, be able to accept and analyze the limits and “why” I am getting a certain type of history. As an art historian, I am expected to conduct fieldwork, to visually analyze the temples and *patas*, research contemporary archives, and interview the clergy and patrons. I am to recognize that the accuracy of fieldwork will be proven through the use of “original documents.” At the same time I should be conscious that the creation of an objective past or an authenticity is unachievable, since the original documents themselves were already created with a specific purpose(s) in mind. I know that I will have questions formulated in my mind about what I should look at, what I should ask about, and what I should be looking for. These pre-formulated questions are largely the result of my academic training; I will have to be constantly questioning my “historical production,” by examining my questions and directions. While I may never be able to reconstruct the circumstances of 19<sup>th</sup>-century western India that made the existence of Shatrunjaya possible, through research and questioning of the research I will be aiming to understand “the world that we live in and the forms of histories that have both helped produce it and which it has produced.”<sup>31</sup>

The following chapters seek to answer the diverse questions related to Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Each chapter shares basically the same format, starting with a short narrative describing my personal experiences at or around the site. These episodes significantly framed the directions of my work, leading to the questions that formed the central issues of the dissertation. Just as pilgrimage is, ultimately, a personal experience, research and writing of a dissertation turned out to be an exceptionally individual

---

<sup>31</sup> Jenkins, 1991, 70.

experience. It is the reason that these episodes are included, since each provides an opening to my arguments. Within the chapters, I aimed to reformulate these personal questions and respond to them, although an unambiguous answer was not always available. A brief historiography and review of literature follow, focusing on the special “niche” that Shatrunjaya occupies within the area of studies relevant to each chapter.

The next chapter introduces the histories of Shatrunjaya itself. It discusses the various ways in which different disciplines have read the site, including religious texts, official histories of reigning kingdoms, personal histories such as pilgrimage stories and travelogues, colonial surveys, and post-Independence writings. How are these histories different from each other, and what are the aims of each? In particular, I question the “viewpoints” of each history, and how they served to produce the “modern” histories of Shatrunjaya. In addition to translations, 19<sup>th</sup>-century histories, and secondary sources, archival research was conducted at the LD Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

The third chapter examines the patterns of patronage at Shatrunjaya. The earliest archaeological remains at Shatrunjaya date to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but most of the current temples were built much later. Significantly, apart from a few 15<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup>-century temples, the rest were built during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter discusses the reasons for the concentrated rebuilding during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as the sudden discontinuation of individual patronage after 1862. It also looks at the merchant society of Ahmedabad and Bombay through biographies of patrons and other historical records, in order to understand these changes. Archives at the Sheth Anandji

Kalyanji Pedhi (The Trust of Joy and Prosperity),<sup>32</sup> Ahmedabad, a trust of laymen which manages the temples and site of Shatrunjaya, were consulted for records of renovation and reconstructions.

How is architecture affected by the changes in patronage that we have just discussed? The next chapter looks at the temple architecture at Shatrunjaya, its position within South Asian architectural history, and changes that we can see in the architectural forms. By comparing the later temples at Shatrunjaya with earlier available examples, this chapter focuses on how the temples of this period differ from earlier temples in plan, structure, and embellishment, and suggests possible reasons for changes in architectural forms. Fieldwork was carried out at Shatrunjaya and other Jain temple sites in Gujarat and the neighboring state of Rajasthan. Informal interviews were conducted with architects, working in traditional temple building as well as contemporary architecture, in order to understand the process of building a temple.

The fifth chapter looks at the *patas* depicting Shatrunjaya, especially the development of Jain pilgrimage site paintings and changes that occurred during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While maps of pilgrimage places have been produced in India from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Shatrunjaya became one of the few places depicted in a unique format, in monumental scale showing a *single* religious site with topographical accuracy. These *patas* were used for worship among Jains during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. This chapter discusses the reasons for the changes in 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas*, based on close study of the existing twenty-one *patas* showing the evolution and changes in the representation and

---

<sup>32</sup> Pedhi translates into “firm” or “company.” Although “Sheth Anandji Kalyanji” may sound like a common Gujarati name (i.e. “Sir or Mr. Anand Kalyan, or Joy Blissfulness”), it is a fictional name referring to the trust which managed the site of Shatrunjaya. The formation and history of the Pedhi is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

forms. Also, by looking at the historiography of *patas* and their ambiguous position within the disciplines of art history and cartography, this chapter seeks to understand why they have been underrepresented in the disciplines. A large number of the *patas* were found at the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad, with other examples dispersed in several museums and private collections.

The sixth chapter examines the series of legal cases regarding the ownership of Shatrunjaya. The first legal case was filed in 1820, with several cases continuously filed until 1926. This overlaps with the period discussed within the chapters of historiography, patronage, architecture, and *patas*. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the site of Shatrunjaya and its ownership was challenged by the local Hindu rulers, the Thakurs of Palitana. For over a hundred years, the Jains fought the Thakur Kandaji IV and his descendants against their claims in the British court, which eventually ended with an agreement settled by the Governor-General/Viceroy. This chapter also explores the creation and subsequent role of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi. As a trust established during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (but probably based on an entity that was formed earlier), the role of this trust is a critical one within this series of legal cases, since it gathered the consensus among Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains while crafting and presenting a “modern” Jain identity to the Western authorities. Investigation of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century construction of Jain identity and community reveals how the Pedhi employed its power to transform a site and a religious community into a “modern” entity. Archives at the LD Institute of Indology and the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, as well as the India Office Records, British Library, London, were consulted for research.

The final chapter summarizes all of these changes at Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup>

century. While the changes may not have been directly related to each other, the sheer number of changes suggests that the causes of changes may have been identical or closely interconnected. However, rather than claim the changes were caused by one or another force—the Jains, the “West,” historians and religious scholars, or a combination of all of those above—I aim to question how the “conceptual and institutional conditions of possibility of social action”<sup>33</sup> were created during the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Shatrunjaya. These conditions were also closely linked with the subsequent histories of Shatrunjaya, in which some aspects of the site were silenced, while some were continuously extolled. According to Trouillot, “that some peoples and things are absent of history, lost as it were, to the possible world of knowledge, is much less relevant to the historical practice than the fact that some peoples and things are absent in history, and that this absence itself is constitutive of the process of historical production.”<sup>34</sup> In the end, this dissertation aims to fill the silences, while attempting various approaches in building a new art historical production.

---

<sup>33</sup> David Scott, “Colonialism,” *International Social Science Journal* 154 (1997): 523.  
<sup>34</sup> Trouillot, 1995, 48-49.

## **Chapter 2. The Historiography of Shatrunjaya**

*Climbing up the four thousand steps to the temples at Shatrunjaya is a daunting task, but one usually attacks the first couple of hundred steps with much enthusiasm. At the beginning point of ascent, there are several temples built for the elderly, the ill, or those who cannot make the full pilgrimage. One friend, a German PhD student studying the anthropological rites of Jainism, accompanied me the first day of my trip up to these temples, and was stooping over and worshiping each step before ascending it. I asked the reason. She explained that she had converted to Jainism during the course of her studies, and while most Jains were encouraging her at every step of her religious progress, some were more skeptical about her sincerity. To avoid criticism, she said that she tried to follow the tenets of Jainism more strictly than other Jains, hence the worship of every step while she was climbing, as well as other self-imposed restrictions. However, she was also concerned with the view of other scholars, wondering aloud if they would consider her work un-scholarly or “not objective enough” due to her conversion to the religion. The conversation ended on a light note, although questions arose on the “correct” understanding of Jainism: was it possible only from the inside, or was it possible only from the outside? What differences occurred when viewing from the outside? Not only for my friend, but for everyone in humanities, there is this inherent fear of misunderstanding and/or misrepresenting one’s topic, either to the ones that have been studied or “own” the topic, or to the ones to whom we are presenting our work. I did not want to be criticized by the Jain community due to misrepresentation in my work, nor by my peers or reviewers in academia. How was one to navigate the “inside” while being acceptable to the “outside”? Before we respond to that question, we may also ask, in what ways are*

*these boundaries of “in” and “out” meaningful?*

As one of the oldest living religions in the South Asian subcontinent, Jainism has been regarded as a relatively “unchanged” religion, which has adhered to its basic principles throughout history.<sup>1</sup> While far from the truth, this view has been strongly propagated within the Jain community, a normal response by participants of the religion.<sup>2</sup> With strong support from the laity, as well as writings of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western scholars who accepted this view, Shatrunjaya also has been imagined as an “unchanged” site, the most sacred pilgrimage sites for Jains dating back to antiquity. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there is no lack of written sources discussing Shatrunjaya, however briefly, supporting the notion of “an ancient sacred site.”

These histories of the site, which provide the historian with dates and facts, are products of their own time, revealing the beliefs of the writer and his milieu. Only by understanding how the site itself was perceived by its patrons and visitors would it be possible to fully recognize the significance of Shatrunjaya. Thus this chapter discusses the written histories of Shatrunjaya, and questions our knowledge of the site, specifically the “beginning” of our knowledge of Shatrunjaya. For example, is the Shatrunjaya we know identical to Shatrunjaya of earlier times? If it is different, when did the changes

<sup>1</sup> For example, A.L. Basham argues that “there was no development in Jainism at all comparable to that which produced Mahayana Buddhism from Theravada. All Jains, whatever their sect, maintain the same fundamental teachings, which have probably been little altered since the time of Bhadrabahu [who lived around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE]. Though there have been superficial compromises with Hinduism, Jainism remains what it was over two thousand years ago.” A. L. Basham, “The Basic Doctrines of Jainism,” in *Sources of Indian Tradition*, edited by Ainslie Thomas Embree, Stephen N. Hay and William Theodore De Bary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988): 51.

<sup>2</sup> According to John Cort, “religion as etically studied by the scholar is also dynamic and changing, even if as emically viewed by the participant it is (or should be) static and unchanging.” Thus Cort argues for the need to study the subsequent history of change as well as the time of origins. John E. Cort, “Models of and for the Studies of the Jains,” *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 2, no. 1 (1990a): 57.

occur? What are the bases and sources for our knowledge of Shatrunjaya, and in what conditions was this knowledge produced?

#### Not in the “canon”: The Ascetics’ View of Shatrunjaya

Jain literature, which supplies the largest body of knowledge on Shatrunjaya, has been exceedingly well-preserved since the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE, following the religious traditions of gifting of books (*shastra dan*) and laymen’s support of temple libraries (*bhandars*).<sup>3</sup> These temple libraries have been depositories of numerous manuscripts including Jain as well as non-Jain literature. According to Natubhai Shah, Jain scriptures are usually divided into pre-canons (*purvas*), primary canons (*angas*), secondary canons (*upangas*) and other practical texts.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the lost pre-canons, 45 canonical texts remain within the Shvetambara tradition, mostly discussing the philosophy of Jainism.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Examples of gifting manuscripts and libraries are discussed in detail in John E. Cort, "The Jain Knowledge Warehouses: Traditional Libraries in India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 1 (1995): 78.

<sup>4</sup> Shah, 1998, 12.

<sup>5</sup> The 45 canonical texts include 11 “Limbs” (*Angas*), 12 “Secondary Limbs” (*Upangas*), 6 Texts of Discipline (*Chedasutras*), 4 Texts on Basic Law (*Mulasutras*), 10 Miscellaneous Texts (*Prakirnakas*), and 2 Appendices. This classification is followed within the standard approaches to Jain literature, in which it is believed that after a famine, Jain ascetics converged in Valabhi in Saurashtra during the fifth century and collected the “canon,” out of concern that certain texts (*sutras*) may be lost due to the death of many ascetics. However, according to this common view, a group of ascetics, on their return from South India, objected to the canon on the basis of inaccuracy, and this led to the split between the Shvetambara and Digambara sects of the Jains. For example, A.L. Basham follows this approach in “Jainism and Buddhism,” in Ainslie T. Embree, Stephen N. Hay, and William Theodore De Bary eds., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 2nd ed, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988): 58. However, this view has been challenged recently by scholars including Kendall Folkert and John Cort. According to Cort, the “canon” of Jain literature stemmed from a single list of Jain literature, which was published in 1882 by Georg Bühler. Bühler compiled a list of the 45 scriptures (*agamas*) supposedly dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Council at Valabhi. However, Cort states that Bühler’s list was compiled from one single source, a Jain ascetic named Jinamuktisuri. This has been mentioned only by A. Guérinot among subsequent scholars. In spite of the fact that earlier scholars, including H.H. Wilson, had questioned the authenticity of the popularly known “45 *agamas*,” Bühler’s “List” became authoritative by the subsequent publication of Albrecht Weber’s “Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina” (1883-85). Thus according to Folkert and Cort, Bühler’s notion of “canon” is in essence a Western creation. For this dissertation, I use the term “canon” or “canonical texts” loosely, to

Considering that texts of the “canon” generally discuss ascetics’ conduct, doctrine, teachings of the Tirthankaras and their quest for liberation, it is only expected that Shatrunjaya is not a crucial part of these texts.<sup>6</sup> Ascetics, who devote their lives to overcoming existing *karma* and practicing asceticism in order to follow the paths of Tirthankaras, do not have any worldly possessions nor dwellings, but spend their lives studying, preaching, and wandering around begging for alms, except for the four months of the rainy season when they settle down temporarily. Canonical texts, with their succinct reference of Shatrunjaya, represent the ideal ascetics’ view of the site, as a place on an itinerary in a peripatetic life, but not an ultimate goal.

Canonical texts themselves were produced either for education of ascetics, or for ceremonial purposes. However, neither of these purposes guaranteed actual use of the texts themselves. First, although “*svadhyaya*, or study of the scriptures, is an important and expected activity of all mendicants, and is found in early lists of internal austerities practiced by them,”<sup>7</sup> the complexities in the grammar and content of the canonical texts most likely limited comprehension (through listening, memorizing, or actual reading) to the most learned ascetics. The complexities of canonical texts may have led to the lack of

---

indicate the range of authoritative texts on Jain religious knowledge. John E. Cort, "Svetambar Murtipujak Jain Scripture in a Performative Context," in *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, edited by Jeffrey R. Timm, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992): 172.

<sup>6</sup> While I have not been able to find any examples discussing Shatrunjaya, it is most likely that Shatrunjaya, if mentioned at all within canonical literature, would be referred to as a place within an itinerary of a Tirthankara, or where a Tirthankara achieved nirvana or preached his sermons. For instance, “Mahavira [the 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthankara] came to the town of Asthigrama, and spent there the first rest of the rainy season. Proceeding then to Champa and Prishtachampa he there spent three, at Vanijyagrama near Vaisali he spent twelve, and in the village of Nalinda near Rajagriha fourteen, six at Mithila, two at Bhadrika, one at Alambhika, one at Sravasti, one at Panitabhumi, and the last rest of the rainy season he spent at Papa, where reigned King Shastipala.” Bhadrabahu, *The Kalpa Sutra and Nava Tatva*, trans. J. Stevenson, (Varanasi: Bharat-Bharati, 1972): 91. Following Mahavira’s example, ascetics also travel around on foot begging and preaching, only staying at one place during the monsoon season.

<sup>7</sup> Cort, 1995, 77.

studying among ascetics, as criticized by reform-minded ascetics during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

Even when the canon was studied, the focus was on practical texts within the canon, as seen in biographies of famous ascetics.<sup>9</sup> This is similar to the 20<sup>th</sup>-century curricula followed by Shvetambara ascetics, in which canonical texts are not included until the last degree of studies, and as a result, are not pursued by many ascetics.<sup>10</sup>

Second, since a large number of canonical texts were produced for ceremonial reasons, they were never intended to be actually used. Catalogues in Jain libraries show that in spite of the lack of use by ascetics, a large number of canonical texts was produced throughout history. This was due to the “sacredness” of the texts themselves, and the merit acquired by the act of gifting them, rather than the actual necessity. Commissioning religious texts was a common form of accruing merit among Jains, who had a high level of literacy compared to worshipers of other religions, partly due to their occupations as merchants and bankers. The “non-use” of canonical manuscripts, or rather, ceremonial use of texts, seems to have been the norm in pre-modern times, especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus we can surmise that canonical texts were not widely used (even by the

---

<sup>8</sup> According to Vijayanandsuri, “Most of the Jain *sadhus* [ascetics] also do not care to study. Why should they freely get plenty to eat and drink?” Gyan Das Jain, “The Golden Thoughts of the Ideal Reformer, Shri Vijayanand Suri,” in *Shree Atmaramji Shatabdi Granth*, (n.a.:n.a., n.d.): 127.

<sup>9</sup> Several biographies of famous 19<sup>th</sup>-century ascetics describe their studies before and following initiation; for example, Vijayadharmasuri (1868-?) began his studies with the *Pratikramana Sutra* (text on the rituals of penitential retreat), and grammar, which was followed with studies of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, and only then did he study *sutras*, or texts of the canon. His course of study indicates the importance of texts on rituals (the *Pratikramana Sutra*) as the first to be covered. While it is possible that the *Pratikramana Sutra* may have been learned through reciting/memorizing, the inclusion of grammar in the next stage suggests that the following texts were actually read. A.J. Sunavala, *Vijaya Dharma Suri: His Life and Work*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922): 32.

<sup>10</sup> According to Cort, twentieth-century Jain monks follow a curriculum that focuses on 1) memorization of liturgical texts that he will recite for the rest of his life, and 2) key texts that give details of Jain practice and metaphysics, in the vernacular. Only after this he learns Sanskrit, including narrative texts, *karma* theory and epic poetry. Following this he learns Prakrit grammar, with advanced studies in Jain doctrine, and finally, formal study of logic and argument. Cort, 2001a, 340-341.

ascetics), and with their non-existing discussion of Shatrunjaya, they provide almost no specific insight in the understanding of the site.

#### Non-canonical literature: Visions of Shatrunjaya for the Laity

More significant in Jain literature to the history of Shatrunjaya is the non-canonical literature, in which legends (*puranas*), biographies, commentarial literature, poetry, and treatises on politics and mathematics were written in Sanskrit, various Prakrits, Apabhramsha, and vernaculars of India including Gujarati and Kannada. Among the numerous examples of non-canonical literature, this section examines those focusing on the description of the site itself. The texts include examples such as the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* (*The Divinity of Shatrunjaya*) and the *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* (*Story of Pilgrimage to Sacred Places*), which describe Shatrunjaya and its history. In addition, non-canonical literature related to lay activities, especially hagiographies, pilgrimage stories, and biographies of laymen, form a significant source for the discussion of Shatrunjaya's history.

However, there are several reasons to hesitate in using these texts as immediate and direct representations of how Shatrunjaya was perceived to the Jains. As with canonical texts, it is again not clear how the pre-modern manuscripts were used, or whether they were even intended for everyday consumption in spite of the existence of the texts in the Jain libraries. While Colonel James Tod recorded that there was a system of accounting and lending books to the laity,<sup>11</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>-century accounts of Jain temple libraries show that

---

<sup>11</sup> Tod mentions that “books may be borrowed from the library by members … who dwell within a certain distance, but they cannot be retained above ten days.” On the other hand, he also describes the difficulties his guru went through in order to look at some manuscripts, in spite of his producing a spiritual pedigree tracing descent from the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Jain saint Hemacarya. Considering that a mendicant with such lineage had to go through such difficulties to obtain

most of the libraries were closed to the public and more focused on the preservation of texts.<sup>12</sup> This was partially due to the danger conceived to be inherent to knowledge, especially of the sacred. For example, Tod mentions an anecdote in which a nun tried to read a manuscript from the library, resulting in blindness.<sup>13</sup> According to Cort, “manuscripts not only contain *jnan* [knowledge, or information], they also contain *vidya*, a multivalent term that covers both the Western categories of science and magic—in other words, powerful and efficacious knowledge,” which would have prevented easy access of these manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> The role of the layman donor was completed with the donation of the manuscript to the temple library or holy personage. The lay donor probably never saw the manuscript(s) again, apart from the fifth day of the new year which is celebrated by Jains as “Knowledge Fifth (*Jnan Pancami*),” a day when they worship knowledge and the physical manuscripts or books themselves.

In addition, the relatively small number of remaining manuscripts suggests that non-canonical texts (for example, the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*) were not produced

---

permission to even look at the manuscripts, it is hard to believe that the laity were able to borrow them freely. James Tod, *Travels in Western India, Embracing a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and the Most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith between Rajpootana and the Indus: With an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwala*, First Indian ed., (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1971): 233-234.

<sup>12</sup> The early 20<sup>th</sup>-century reformist ascetic Swami Atmaramji mentions this lack of interest in books among the lay community: “it is good that Jains keep their sacred books with care but it is at the same time lamentable that they have shut away their grand ‘Bhandars [libraries]’ like that in Jaisalmer behind stone walls and never care to know if the invaluable treasures have all turned into dust and been lost to the world or any of their traces remain.” Gyan Das Jain, n.d., 125. After the early 1870s, several Western scholars including Georg Bühler, Hermann Jacobi, Peter Peterson and later, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, attempted to enter the Jain temple libraries in Patan, but with no success. In his article, Johnson describes the efforts of these scholars and how the management thwarted these approaches, as well as the condition of the preserved manuscripts. Donald Clay Johnson, “The Western Discovery of Jain Temple Libraries,” *Libraries and Culture* 28, no. 2 (1993): 189-203.

<sup>13</sup> According to Tod, “this Sybilline volume, now a sealed book to all, is suspended by a chain, and only taken down once a year, to be worshiped and re-placed with a new cover. Its characters are a mystery, and caused blindness to a female Yuti [nun], who endeavoured to master its contents.” Tod, 1971, 277.

<sup>14</sup> Cort, 1995, 87.

commonly.<sup>15</sup> It is more likely that the laity were familiar with these manuscripts through oral transmission, i.e. sermons of ascetics or temple priests (*yatis*)<sup>16</sup>, rather than through the manuscripts themselves. In all probability this type of knowledge was provided to the laity on pilgrimage by ascetics, who would have recited or summarized the texts as a guide to the sites they were visiting. For example, Tod remarks hearing about this text from the ascetics who were climbing the hill of Shatrunjaya with him and his guru Gnancandra, and how they discussed the renovations and traditions of the site.<sup>17</sup>

Among these examples, the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* is unquestionably the most frequently quoted pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century history of Shatrunjaya. According to the text, it was originally narrated by Mahavira, the last Tirthankara. The current form is said to be based on the version that was shortened and written down in 421 CE by Dhaneshvarsuri, a Jain ascetic who resided at Valabhai during the reign of Shiladitya, king of Saurashtra.<sup>18</sup> Shatrunjaya, while in the title of the work, is used more often as a backdrop to the biographies of saints and patrons and kings who work their way through religious

<sup>15</sup> Out of 7543 manuscripts catalogued by Muni Punyavijay at the LD Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, only 49 are related to Shatrunjaya. These include the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* and *Shatrunjaya Kalpa*, part of *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*. Dalsukh Malvania and Ambalal P. Shah, eds., *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts Muniraja Sri Punyavijayaji's Collection: Part III, Compiled by Muniraja Sri Punyavijayaji*, (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> A *yati*, (or *yuti, jati*) or temple priest, was an old Jain institution in which the ascetic would settle down in a temple and give up his peripatetic life. *Yatis* were commonly found during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, leading to the corruption of Jain ascetics with some even bearing children in addition to living luxurious lives with the patronage of temple donors.

<sup>17</sup> Tod, 1971, 275. "My researches in this interesting spot were materially aided by an introduction through my own Yuti [*yati*] to some learned priests, now here on pilgrimage, who gave me much information on points connected with their religion, as well as details concerning the *teerut* [*tirtha*], from the *Satrunga Mahatma*, a portion of which work they had with them."

<sup>18</sup> Weber dates the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* to 598 CE. However, due to the 16 Renovations of Shatrunjaya discussed in the text, which allude to renovations as late as 1315, Gulabcandra and Dhaky have argued a much later date of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Gulabcandra Chaudhari, *Jaina Sahitya ka Brihad Itihasa*, vol. 6, (Kavya Sahitya; Varanasi: Parshvanatha Vidyashrama Shodha Sansthana, 1973), p. 361. They cite M. D. Desai's *Jaina Sahityano Sanksipta Itihasa*, (pp. 145-46, note 138) which argues that since the text refers to Kumarapala, it is from probably the 13th century of the Vikram Samvat era, or the 14<sup>th</sup> century CE. More recently, M. A. Dhakydates the text at between 1329 and 1455 CE. Personal communication with John Cort.

initiation, hardship, and achieving liberation. The most frequently quoted part of this work is the “Sixteen Renovations of Shatrunjaya,” which starts with the first temple at Shatrunjaya built by Bharata and ends with a description of a renovation during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> Another significant text that discusses Shatrunjaya in detail is the *Shatrunjaya Kalpa* (Story of Shatrunjaya). The *Shatrunjaya Kalpa* is part of *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*, the guide to pilgrimage sites written by Jinaprabhasuri, a Jain ascetic who lived during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Jinaprabhasuri recites stories of almost four dozen Jain pilgrimage places within 63 chapters, and Shatrunjaya is the first pilgrimage place described in this text.

Both of these texts follow the standard format of a temple site history, narrating the discovery and history of the site as well as the important divine and human figures who had worshiped there. The main purpose of such stories was to “justify and eulogize the shrines as particularly sacred and efficacious.”<sup>21</sup> In addition, stories such as the “Sixteen Renovations” serve a further purpose of explaining and legitimizing the apparent “newness” of the site. According to Richard Davis, these are not actual histories, but products of a historical moment, and “the impetus to compose comprehensive biographies of important sites ... grows out of the experience of disruption, and much of the thematic complexion of these site biographies results from the attempt to overcome disjunction and to assert an overarching stability.”<sup>22</sup>

In these texts, Shatrunjaya is clearly established firstly as an ancient site, and also a

<sup>19</sup> For a full list of the Sixteen Renovations, see Appendix A. Of the Sixteen Renovations, twelve are considered mythical (for example, the renovations of Bharata, Indra, and the Pandava brothers), and the final four historical. The four historical renovations include those of Javadi, Bahad Mantri, Samra Shah, and Kumara Shah.

<sup>20</sup> Translated by John Cort. Cort, 1990b, 245-290.

<sup>21</sup> David Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Shaiva Tradition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980): 32-33.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 138.

“sacred” site. This sanctity is created by a double-edged attribute of the site: accessibility. Phyllis Granoff suggests that “[Shatrunjaya’s] very accessibility, the fact that it was often visited by famous men in the past … constitutes the sanctity of the place, … a place that was made sacred first by the deeds of past great religious leaders, the Tirthankaras themselves, and then by the monks who practiced austerities there throughout the ages, and finally by the many wealthy lay patrons who made there images of the Tirthankaras and built the temples to house them.”<sup>23</sup> Unlike Hindu pilgrimage sites, at which one may wash away his/her sins with sacred water, “no Jain *tirtha* has had sacrality conferred on it through proximity to water”,<sup>24</sup> instead, the former presence of Tirthankaras, ascetics, and pious lay patrons at Shatrunjaya provides the sacredness required for a pilgrimage site.

However, the Shatrunjaya of these stories in the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* or the *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* is also sometimes invisible or inaccessible. In one example, Shatrunjaya is a “vast underground terrain, access to which is controlled by goddesses … and secured by ritual propitiation of these minor deities.” Another example tells a story of a king who was surrounded by thousands of Shatrunjayas and could not decide which was the real one.<sup>25</sup> The inaccessibility produces a divine challenge that the pilgrim must overcome. The sanctity of the site is enhanced by this very secrecy, the invisibility of the site to certain beings. But this notion of “inaccessible-thus-sacred” may be utilized towards the advantage of the viewer. Granoff argues that secrecy was used as a tool of control, which offers special benefits to special individuals such as the pious (and wealthy) patron. Secrecy provides a firsthand barrier to the visible site, but is also one that can be easily overcome with piety, which is, in the case of the lay worshiper,

<sup>23</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "Medieval Jain Accounts of Mt. Girnar and Satrunjaya: Visible and Invisible Sacred Realms," *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* XLIX, no. 1-2 (1999): 147.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1992): 187.

<sup>25</sup> Granoff, 1999, 158.

represented in the desire to perform pilgrimage and install images. Thus successful consecration of a temple or installation of an image worked as proof of the patron's piety.

According to Paul Dundas, "what is important in Jain lay behaviour is not precise conformity to a canonical pattern of religiosity ... but the manifestation of pious intentions and correct ethical dispositions through public participation in religious ceremonies, worship and community affairs, the enhancement of prestige of oneself and one's fellow Jains through religious gifting and the correctness of one's business affairs and family alliances."<sup>26</sup> This lay approach to religiosity is reflected in the non-canonical literature of Shatrunjaya, which emphasizes the significance of Shatrunjaya to a lay person rather than an ascetic. Another example, the *Saravali*, a text probably dating to the eleventh century, discusses how spiritual attainments are gained effortlessly on Shatrunjaya, and that merely installing one image there will lead to rebirth in heaven.<sup>27</sup> The effects of such claims would not have been lost to the lay worshiper, and as a result, are repeatedly emphasized in texts written even nowadays.

Within these stories continuously repeated about Shatrunjaya, the lay community of Jains emerges as the central force in the creation of the site. According to Ismail, the term "community" conceals the socially constructed nature of identities; rather, he argues that "social formation" is a more accurate term. Constructed social formations—i.e. in contrast to ontological entities—show that identities are "not stable entities but sites of struggle over which (interest) groups would achieve hegemony over the formation, and thus determine the nature of its (dominant) identity."<sup>28</sup> In spite of the fact that "Jain" was

---

<sup>26</sup> Dundas, 1992, 165.

<sup>27</sup> *Painnayasuttam: Part 1*, ed. Muni Punyavijaya and Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak (Jaina Agama Series 17.1), Bombay 1984, pp. 350-360. Quoted in Dundas, 1992, 190.

<sup>28</sup> Within this dissertation, I am using "community" with the understanding that it is a social formation, i.e. a socially constructed entity. Qadri Ismail, "Unmooring Identity: The Antinomies

understood as a separate identity, the nature of the Jain lay community was undoubtedly not homogeneous until (and even during) the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The major patrons of the temples at Shatrunjaya, i.e. male merchants and bankers, linked closely through familial and commercial activities based in Ahmedabad, Mumbai or other cities in western India, were the hegemonic forces among the social formations of Jains, and of the histories of Shatrunjaya, as discussed again in Chapter 6. The stories of Shatrunjaya extol the virtues of these very people; they are not stories for ascetics, but stories for lay worshipers, the merchants, the patrons.

#### Appropriating Authority: The Jains and Rulers of Gujarat

Currently scholars estimate that 3 to 10 million Jains reside in South Asia. Other estimates put the percentage of Jains between 0.4% and 0.6% of the whole population, which has probably not changed much throughout history. In spite of being a minority, Jains have held a social status incomparable to other minor religious groups, apart from Muslims. This was especially true in the northwest, where bankers and merchants comprised a larger segment of the religious group and were closely linked with political rulers due to their financing roles. This section discusses Shatrunjaya in the literature of rulers, along with Jain non-canonical literature which mention Shatrunjaya while narrating the relationship between Jains and rulers.

The heyday of Jain power in Gujarat in western India is usually recognized as the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Jain monks such as Hemacarya (or Hemachandra, 1089-1172) or merchants such as Vastupala and Tejahpala served as advisors respectively to

---

of Elite Muslim Self-Representation in Modern Sri Lanka," *Unmaking the Nation: The Politics of Identity and History in Modern Sri Lanka*, eds. Pradeep Jeganathan and Qadri Ismail, (Social Scientists' Association: Colombo, 1995): 56.

the Chaulukya king Kumarapala and the Vaghela king Viradhavala.<sup>29</sup> However, even so, Shatrunjaya is not frequently discussed in the histories of these kingdoms; in the rare case, Shatrunjaya is mentioned as the place where the Jain minister went on pilgrimage and fulfilled his vows.<sup>30</sup>

Non-Jain discussion of Jains, and Shatrunjaya in particular, is rather limited, especially after the rise of Muslim power in Gujarat. According to Pearson, this was caused by the lack of political connections between rulers and merchants, particularly in Gujarat society. In times of need, political intermediaries such as the *nagarsheth* (leader of the *mahajan*, or the city's merchant society) negotiated with the rulers on behalf of his fellows while regulating their own concerns, thus removing the need for rulers to directly communicate with merchants.<sup>31</sup> To the rulers, revenue from commercial activities of merchants trading overseas was minuscule enough to be ignored compared to conquest of territory and subsequent taxation.<sup>32</sup> In addition to this lack of economic interest in

---

<sup>29</sup> Campbell, 1989, 191-192, 199.

<sup>30</sup> The need for a historiography of medieval Gujarat is significant; although much has been done on the post-Sultanate Islamic dynasties, not much is published on the histories of the earlier Hindu dynasties such as the Solanki and Vaghela dynasties, including the investigation of source material. Campbell apparently incorporated anecdotes about the Jain ministers from a translated Jain source, but it is not clear if they are mentioned in any other source. (For example, he cites Kathavate's *Kirtikaumudi*, xx; JBRAS XVIII Number XLVIII, 28). Campbell, 1989, 202. It is possible that due to the paucity of pre-Sultanate written histories, Jain sources have become the major resources, which led to the glorification (probably over-glorification) of Jain ministers such as Vastupala and Tejahpala.

<sup>31</sup> In Gujarat, *mahajan* usually meant “a body governing all the *vania* merchants in a town, but it also applied more generally to ‘any assembled or collective body of merchants’ regardless of creed or *jati*.<sup>33</sup> *Sheth* is usually translated into banker or merchant; however in Gujarat, *sheth* meant the head of a *mahajan*. Specifically in Ahmedabad, there was a city-wide *mahajan* which was comprised of the representatives of all the occupational *mahajans*, and led by the *nagarsheth* (*sheth* of the city). Michael Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976): 123.

<sup>32</sup> Pearson, 1976, 83. Revenues from ports were not vital resources (only 6% of revenue), and Pearson argues that this is one of the reasons that the Portuguese were able to control the ports and trade of western India during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. For example, even after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1573, he acknowledged the Portuguese domination of sea trade and ports by requesting a free *cartez* (pass for entry) and using it for his ships bound for Mecca. According

controlling the merchants of western India, Misra also mentions the impossibility of controlling a large area with insufficient resources, which led to the rulers' delegating authority to each segment of society and its leaders. For example, Alp Khan, general of the Islamic conqueror Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, presided over Gujarat from Patan during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, and did not interfere with the Jain merchant society. Also, according to Jain literature, he gave permission and donations to rebuild the temples at Shatrunjaya which had been destroyed earlier. However, these episodes revealing the relationship between the Jains and the Muslim ruler are ignored in Islamic histories of the Sultanate dynasties, and only mentioned in Jain literature, for example, the *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* or *Nabhinandan Jinoddhar Prabandh*.<sup>33</sup>

The Mughals, who followed the rule of the Sultans in Gujarat, are good examples of this "lack of interest." The rare examples of Shatrunjaya being mentioned in Mughal literature are the Mughal royal orders (*farmans*) and deeds of land (*sanads*), which were bestowed to the Jain community. Nine documents issued by five Mughal rulers bestow the rights of Shatrunjaya to Hiravijayasuri, a Jain ascetic, and Shantidas Jhaveri and his descendants, who were Jain merchants of Ahmedabad providing jewels and loans to the Mughals. These became the basis of arguments later when the Jains fought for the rights to Shatrunjaya in the legal cases of ownership against the Thakurs of Palitana. (Appendix B: Mughal *farmans* related to Shatrunjaya)<sup>34</sup> The *farmans* have been discussed in several sources, including Jain writings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century regarding the ownership of the site.

---

to Pearson, "Akbar did not see this as a particular infringement on his sovereignty," since none suffered economic loss.(87) Another contemporary writer Bahadur also mentions that "wars by seas are merchants' affairs and of no concern to the prestige of kings." (91)

<sup>33</sup> S.C. Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1995): 68.

<sup>34</sup> These *farmans* clearly indicate that Shatrunjaya and its surrounding areas are gifted to Shantidas Jhaveri and his descendants; it is possible that the changes in land tenure was the original reason for the gifts.

These will be discussed more in detail in the sixth chapter on the legal cases of Shatrunjaya. However, apart from the brief mention of Jain ascetics on the debates at the Mughal emperor Akbar's Ibadat Khana (the Place of Worship),<sup>35</sup> the *farmands* and following interactions between the Mughal rulers and the Jains are not found in any major Mughal sources. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, one of the most detailed pre-modern historical writings in South Asia, mentions Shatrunjaya as a Jain site while discussing the district of Palitana, but with no further details.<sup>36</sup> It is highly possible that the Mughals, while in need of the Jain merchant community and its financial support, did not consider the Jains an essential part of their history, thus the scarcity of historical records.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Abu'l Fazl discusses the religious discussions of Akbar:

"At this time, when the centre of the caliphate (Fathpur Sikri) (p.365) was glorified by H.M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday nights illuminated by the light of the holy mind. On 20 Mihr, Divine Month, 3 October 1578, and in that house of worship, the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life. ... Sufi, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunni, Bhia, Brahman, Jati [clergy or ascetics among the Jains], Siura [from Prakrit Seyamvara, i.e. Shvetambara Jains], Carbak [Nastiks or infidels of Hindu philosophy], Nazarene, Jew, Sabi (Sabian), Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, the sitting of the world-lord in the lofty pulpit (mimbar) and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality."

Abu'l Fazl, *The Akbarnama of Abu'l Fazl*, Translated by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1912): 365. Within the *Ain-i Akbari*, Abu'l Fazl lists names of three Jain ascetics among the "learned men of the time," including Hariji Sur (Hiravijayasuri) in the "first class [who understand the mysteries of both worlds]," and Bijai Sen Sur (Vijayasensuri) and Bhan Chand (Bhanuchandra) in the "fifth class [who understand sciences resting on testimonies]." Abul Fazl Allami, *The Ain i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H.S. Jarrett, Vol. I (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1907): Section 313-315. (From *The Packard Humanities Institute: Persian Texts in Translation* at <http://persian.packhum.org/persian/>, accessed July 28, 2006)

<sup>36</sup> Palitana is included in the list of the *parganas* (districts) of Sorath (Saurashtra). "In the third district at the foot of the *Satrunjah* (*Satrunjaya*) hill, is a large fort and on its summit, the fort of *Palithanah*. Though in ruins, it deserves restoration. It is in great veneration with the *Jains*. ... The *Zamindar* is of the *Gohel* tribe." Abu'l Fazl is not clear with the names of the hill and town, probably due to misunderstanding of the geography, or mistranslations. Abul Fazl Allami, 1873-1907, vol. II Section 165. (From *The Packard Humanities Institute: Persian Texts in Translation* at <http://persian.packhum.org/persian/>, accessed July 28, 2006)

<sup>37</sup> Another Mughal writer Al-Badaoni also writes about the meetings at the Ibadat Khanah, but does not mention Shatrunjaya within his book. It is most likely that Jains were not distinguished from Hindus. While each sect of Islam was represented in much detail in Al-Badaoni's writings,

In contrast to this lack of interest on the part of the rulers, there is no lack of Jain literature arguing the acknowledgement (thus legitimization) of their own site and religion by the ruling authority. Especially within non-canonical Jain literature, we find much about the relationship between the Jain community and the ruling dynasties. Among other events, the destruction of temples at Shatrunjaya seems to have actually spurred much literature of this type. Some destruction clearly happened at some point during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century; however, exact dates and persons who destroyed the temples are not clear. S.C. Misra states that 'Ala-u'd-din sent his brother Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to Gujarat in 1299, which ended in the raid and plunder of Anhilwarra Patan, the capital of the ruling Waghela dynasty. According to Misra, the army proceeded to plunder the Shiva temple at Somnath, and after that, broke up for more effective looting around the Saurashtra peninsula, and Shatrunjaya may or may not have been harmed at this time.<sup>38</sup> It is also possible that there was destruction caused in 1312/13, when more Turks, i.e. nomadic troops from Central Asia, were passing through Saurashtra.

The only sources that describe the destructions at Shatrunjaya are those of Jain non-canonical literature. These include poems (*kavyas*), for example, the *Nabhinandan Jinnoddhar Prabandh* (1336 CE).<sup>39</sup> In these poems, Shatrunjaya appears as an ambiguous entity, sacred but also vulnerable to destruction. However, not surprisingly the

---

other religious leaders were described only perfunctorily, as "Brahman," "Samana (Shramana)," "Padre," and "fire-worshippers from Nousari in Gujrat." Al Badauni, *Muntakhab ut-tawarikh*, vol. II, trans. W.H. Lowe, (Karachi, Karimsons: 1978): 262-268. According to M.D. Desai, "Samana," or "Samanis" are the corrupt Prakrit forms of "Shramana," which is applicable to Jains as well as Buddhist monks. Since there are no records of Buddhist monks visiting the Mughal court, Desai argues that "Samanas" in Al Badaoni's writings refers to Jain ascetics. M.D. Desai, "Jaina Priests at the Court of Akbar," *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* IV, no. 1 (1942): 3.

<sup>38</sup> Misra, 1995, 68.

<sup>39</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "The Householder as Shaman: Jain Biographies of Temple Builders," *East and West* 42, no. 2-4 (1992): 305. However, it is not clear if manuscripts of these poems were produced or whether they were popular. Muni Punyavijaya's collection at the LD Institute of Indology, one of the largest collections of manuscripts in Gujarat, does not mention even one copy of *Nabhinandan Jinnoddhar Prabandh*, nor the author Kakkasuri.

significance of destruction has been diminished in the histories of the site, with emphasis on the re-construction that followed the destructions. Written by a Jain ascetic Kakkasuri, the *Nabhinandan Jinnoddhar Prabandh* jumps into discussing the reconstruction by Samara Shah, a devout Jain merchant, comparing it with the early renovations by Pundarika, Bharata, the Pandava brothers, and Javadi in the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*. The destruction itself is only alluded to as evil deeds of demigods, and is rendered as a result of this time belonging to the Age of Darkness (*kali yuga*).<sup>40</sup> According to Kakkasuri, by showering Alp Khan, brother-in-law of 'Ala-u'd-din and governor of Gujarat, with praise (and "munificent presents"), Samara Shah acquired permission and a *farman* to renovate the temples, as well as a casket of jewels.<sup>41</sup> The focus of Jain literature at this time is praise for the reconstructions and the patron Samara Shah, which follows the tradition of praising the patrons within non-canonical Jain literature.

Jain sources describing the relationship between the Jains and rulers continue to be found throughout the Mughal period. Following the annexation of Gujarat by Akbar in 1573, Mughal governors were sent to Ahmedabad to preside over the region. Several incidents related to Akbar and his successors are described in detail in contemporary Jain writings, including the *Vijayprashasti Kavya* of Hemavijayasuri, *Hirsaubhagya Kavya* of Devavimalsuri, and *Hirvijaysuri Rasa* of Kavi (Poet) Rishabhadas.<sup>42</sup> These writings by

<sup>40</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "Tales of Broken Limbs and Bleeding Wounds: Responses to Muslim Iconoclasm in Medieval India," *East and West* 41, no.1-4 (1991): 189-203.

<sup>41</sup> According to *Nabhinandan Jinnoddhar Prabandh*, both 'Ala-u'd-din and Alap Khan were praised as respectively Indra and Brahma, the destroyer and renovator of temples. Misra, 1995, 69.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in K.M. Munshi, "Extracts from the Foreword," in Muni Vidyavijaya, *A Monk and a Monarch*, Translated by Dolarrai R. Mankad, (Ujjain: Deepchandji Banthia, 1944): 3. Not much research has been done in this literature; written in either Sanskrit or Prakrit, a few of them have been published with commentaries by ascetics during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Hemavijaya Gani, Gunavijaya Gani, *The Vijayaprashasti of Shri Hemavijaya Gani, with the commentary, Vijayapradeepika of Shri Gunavijaya Gani*, (Benares, Dharmabhyvdaya Press: 1911).

Jain ascetics and poets mostly eulogize Hiravijayasuri (1527-1596), a Jain ascetic, and his disciples, who participated in the aforementioned religious debates held by Akbar.

According to Shirin Mehta, Hiravijaysuri became a Shvetambara ascetic at the age of 13, “teacher” (*acharya*) at 28, and later the “head” (*patdhari*) of the Shvetambara sect in Gujarat. While Hiravijayasuri was at Fatehpur Sikri, the current Mughal capital, Akbar conferred the title of “Jagat Guru (World teacher)” on him, and also issued a *farman* in 1584 “prohibiting the slaughter of animals for twelve days during [the Jains’] *Paryusana* festival,” as well as removing the pilgrimage tax in Gujarat. Soon after this *farman*, Hiravijayasuri led a pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya with more than a thousand followers, a few years before his death.<sup>43</sup> With the discussion of this pilgrimage, *Vijayprashasti Kavya* also mentions the “gifting” of Shatrunjaya to the Jains by Akbar. Written by contemporaries or disciples of Hiravijayasuri, these writings focus on the power of Jain ascetics which convinced the Mughal rulers to end their “tyranny.”<sup>44</sup> Shatrunjaya, in these writings, is briefly brought up as a pilgrimage site within the biography of a powerful ascetic. According to Muni Vidyavijaya, during the pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya led by Hiravijayasuri, “people had the advantage of two *tirthas*, viz., Siddhachal [Shatrunjaya] and Suriji [Hiravijayasuri].”<sup>45</sup> The reference to Shatrunjaya emphasizes the power of Hiravijayasuri, a moving *tirtha* who is as sacred as the site, rather than

<sup>43</sup> According to Mehta, when Hiravijayasuri left Fatehpur Sikri for his pilgrimage in 1587, he left his disciple Santichandra. Santichandra left his disciple Bhanuchandra and Siddhichandra, the latter who was awarded the title “Khush-faham” (man of sharp intelligence) for reciting thousand different names of the sun. Vijayasensuri, another successor of Hiravijayasuri stayed at Akbar’s court from 1593 to 1595. The *Vijayprashasti Kavya* notes that Vijaysensuri “gave lucid exposition of the Jain views regarding the existence of God and entered into controversy with Brahmins.” Shirin Mehta, “Akbar as reflected in the contemporary Jain literature in Gujarat,” *Social Scientist* 20 (1992): 56-58.

<sup>44</sup> Vidyavijaya, 1944, 41.

<sup>45</sup> Vidyavijaya, 1944, 69. Again, further research is needed for details of the descriptions: Muni Vidyavijaya mentions: “At last Suriji reached the highest part where the fort is situated. Then he went round all the small and big places of worship. Jain poets have described all this at great length in all details”; however the amount of details is not clear.

Shatrunjaya itself.<sup>46</sup>

Thus in most pre-modern discussions of Shatrunjaya, the site remains a symbol of sanctity, a place where one's piety can be expressed through pilgrimage or gift-giving. Shatrunjaya is ambiguous as a visible yet sometimes inaccessible site, only accessible to believers who had accumulated sufficient merit. To those who are able to see, it is inevitably described as a paradisiacal site, in language similar to those describing sacred mountains in Buddhist or Hindu literature.<sup>47</sup> In spite of this sanctity, it is also a vulnerable site, open to the destructions of its enemies. Jain literature obscures the worldly transgressions on the site by focusing on the reconstructions after the destructions; it also preserves the ambiguity of the site by leaving its temples in an imaginary landscape within its pilgrimage stories and miracle stories.<sup>48</sup> Pre-modern writings of Shatrunjaya emphasize the role of the site (and pilgrimage to the site) as a means of liberation to laymen, forgiving transgressions in the present life and granting rebirth as an ascetic in a future life. Seeing Shatrunjaya was the ultimate goal of the pilgrim, and the "sight" of the site and benefits bestowed due to this sight, was most important within pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century writings on Shatrunjaya.

However, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new form of discussion arose around Shatrunjaya.

<sup>46</sup> Eminent monks and nuns also became walking sacred sites (*jangamatirthas*), in the sense that "monks and nuns are investing that place with their sacredness." This practice benefits the laity who look to them for blessing and spiritual guidance, and helps to integrate a small and widely distributed community. According to McCormick, every locale that "hosts" an eminent monk or nun is capable of becoming a holy place, especially during monsoon retreats or the festival at the end of the rainy season (*paryusana kalpa*). Thomas McCormick, "The Jaina Ascetic as Manifestation of the Sacred," in *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*, ed. Robert H. Stoddard and Alan Morinis, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1997): 235-256.

<sup>47</sup> Granoff argues that the description of Shatrunjaya in texts such as the *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* relate to "a broader literary tradition of magical lands, often islands, and paradises that we know from early medieval Indian stories," which suggest "another possible topography, one that is not visible under ordinary circumstances, but that is also paradisiacal, and grants infinite wealth, long life, and sensual pleasures, all of the bounties of heaven." Granoff, 1999, 155, 161.

<sup>48</sup> Granoff, 1999, 145.

Western writings on Jainism and Shatrunjaya appeared during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and these in a way, shaped the future discourse on the site. One category of Western writings was comprised of the translations of various Jain sources, including the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmyam* (1858).<sup>49</sup> While these also were critical to the Western understanding of Jainism and Shatrunjaya, the second category, personal writings describing the site proved to be much more influential to the significant changes in the discussion of Shatrunjaya. These writings included travelers' accounts by James Tod and Alexander Kinloch Forbes, as well as James Burgess' later critical work on Shatrunjaya.

#### The Personal approach: James Tod and Alexander Kinloch Forbes

Throughout history, there had been a constant stream of European travelers, merchants, and soldiers who sought out India, leaving records of the subcontinent. The European discovery of sea routes to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 brought more travelers to the western coast and Gujarat: for example, J. Albert de Mandelslo, M. Jean de Thevenot, or Bishop Reginald Heber.<sup>50</sup> In spite of the number of travelers through

<sup>49</sup> For example, Albert Weber, "Über Das Catrunjaya Mahatmyam: Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Jaina," *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1, no. 4 (1858). The first Jain text to be translated was the *Kalpa Sutra* and *Nava Tatva* and the *Kalakacharyakatha*. Bahabhadru, *The Kalpa Sutra and Nava Tatva; Two Works Illustrative of the Jain Religion and Philosophy*, Trans. J. Stevenson, Original Publication 1848, Reprint, (Varanasi: Bharat-Bharati, 1972). According to Cort, the reason for such focus on *The Kalpa Sutra* was due to the Western Protestant fixation on the "origin" of the religion as well as its ritual and commentarial context within Jainism; i.e., *The Kalpa Sutra* included biographies of 24 Tirthankaras as well as the "Sthaviravali" (list of important Shvetambara ascetics to 5<sup>th</sup> century CE), and the "Sadhu Samacari" (rules for proper conduct of mendicants during retreat, which includes description of performance of Paryusana). But the *Kalpa Sutra* is actually only the 8<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Dashashrutasandha*, one of the Chedasutras, thus not a central position within the canon. Cort, 1992, 174.

<sup>50</sup> M.S. Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)*, (London; Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Oxford University Press, 1931); M.S. Commissariat, "Part III: M. Jean De Thevenot's Travels in Gujarat in 1666," in *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*, (Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935): 109-123;

Gujarat, the first time Shatrunjaya is discussed by a European is only in 1833, when Colonel James Tod, leaving his post in India to return to England, traveled through Gujarat on his way to Bombay. The journey resulted in *Travels in Western India, Embracing a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and the Most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith Between Rajpootana and the Indus: with an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwala*. A few years later, Alexander Kinloch Forbes discussed Shatrunjaya in his history of Gujarat, *Ras Mala: or, Hindu Annals of the province of Goozerat in Western India*. Both had experience working for the British government at the time of writing; however, this common element does not explain the inclusion of Shatrunjaya in their writings. Rather, Shatrunjaya was included because of the writers' familiarity with Jains in both cases. Tod was traveling with Gnancandra, his Jain guru who had taught him Sanskrit and other languages while he was stationed in Rajasthan. Thus Tod had access to "native" knowledge of the site. In the case of Forbes, as Assistant Judge of Ahmedabad, and also later the founder of the Gujarat Vernacular Society in Ahmedabad, he was actively involved with leading merchants and bankers in Ahmedabad, who included many of the Jain patrons of Shatrunjaya.

James Tod (1782-1835) arrived in India in 1800 as Lieutenant in the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the Native Infantry, and continued his career in India until 1833.<sup>51</sup> He spent most of these years in Rajasthan, which resulted in several important projects including the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India*.<sup>52</sup> His final work, published posthumously, is the *Travels in Western India*, which

---

Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-25*, 2 vols., Reprint, (London: J. Murry, 1856).

<sup>51</sup> Tod, 1971, xviii.

<sup>52</sup> James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India*, (London: Smith, 1829).

was a collection of notes written on his way from his post in Mewar, Rajasthan, to Bombay when he left the country. Shatrunjaya occupies one chapter. Tod's guru, Gnancandra, introduced him to other ascetics, who discussed the date and a few sections of the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*. However Tod's writings reveal the limits of Western knowledge on Jainism and the region at that time, for Jainism is not distinguished from Buddhism (a religion that no longer had any followers in western India), nor does he display understanding of the histories or lineages of local rulers. However, within this short chapter, he manages to discuss the management of the site ("by a committee of wealthy lay-votaries from the chief cities, as Ahmedabad, Baroda, Puttun, Surat, &c."), as well as praise for the current Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, for enabling safe pilgrimages by eliminating the threats of bandits.<sup>53</sup>

Alexander Kinloch Forbes (1821-1865) arrived in India in 1843 and worked throughout his career in Gujarat and surrounding Maratha-ruled areas. The *Ras Mala*, the result of 8 years' work and research in Ahmedabad while appointed as Assistant Judge, starts with the geography of Gujarat which leads directly into the discussion of Shatrunjaya.<sup>54</sup> Although he *does not indicate* it, Forbes probably had visited Shatrunjaya, a fact that may be surmised from his detailed description of the ascent from Palitana to the hill, the temples and *murtis* (images)<sup>55</sup>, and the view overlooking the Shetrungi River. In this chapter, he gives the "origin" of the site, i.e. built by Bharata, and an example of one of the renovations from the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, the story of Jawud Bhawud. The

---

<sup>53</sup> Tod, 1971, 294-295.

<sup>54</sup> Alexander Kinloch Forbes, *Ras Mala: Or, Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India*, new ed., (London: Richardson and Co., 1878): 2-8.

<sup>55</sup> A *murti* is an image in which the divine is *murta*, or expressed. In many South Asian religions, including Jainism, deities are believed to reside in *murtis* which were made and installed according to the scriptures or traditional practices. The closest English translation could be *icon*, although the term does not sufficiently convey the notion of a divine presence.

deterioration of the site after Jawud Bhawud is followed by the story of Dhaneshvarsuri, who wrote the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*. This is continued with the history of the Valabhai kingdom, i.e. the period when Dhaneshvarsuri was active, and the political struggle between his followers and Buddhists over the favor of the Valabhi king Shiladitya.

The most significant change from the pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century histories of Shatrunjaya that we can see in the narratives of both authors is the detailed description of the topography and architecture, as well as the emphasis on a “sense of history.”<sup>56</sup> Firstly, for the first time in literature, we can envision the physical site (which “rises to the height of nearly two thousand feet above the plains”<sup>57</sup>), with a description of the temples and *tunks* (enclosures).<sup>58</sup> It is now possible to recognize the approximate geography of the site and the layout of temples. From the writings of Tod, we can more or less confirm that certain structures such as the Motishah Tunk (1835-37) in the valley between the two summits were not built at the time Tod visited, since they are not included in his description of the site.<sup>59</sup> Names of temples and *tunks* are mentioned with their outstanding features, as well as the supposed patrons and dates of the temples and images.

Secondly, and probably more significantly, both writers insert a new dimension into the discussion of Shatrunjaya. That is, they engage the site with historical presences,

<sup>56</sup> Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History: Early India*, Krishna Bharadwaj Memorial Lecture, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996): 6. This does not indicate that earlier writings on history were not historic; rather, it indicates the rise of a “sense of history” according to the Western, 19<sup>th</sup>-century definition of history as an objective, positivistic discipline.

<sup>57</sup> Forbes, 1878, 5.

<sup>58</sup> *Tunk* is a Gujarati term that may be translated into “enclosure” or “complex.” It is used to indicate an area surrounding a temple, normally enclosed with walls which are lined with subsidiary shrines.

<sup>59</sup> Tod discusses the “three areas” of Shatrunjaya as Mulanath (the Main Adishvara Temple complex), Sewar Somji’s chaok (Chaumukh Tunk on the northern summit), and the Moodi-ca-took (Modi’s Tunk on the northern summit). Tod, 1971, 280.

such as actual events, management, and current rulers.<sup>60</sup> Compared to earlier Jain literature (for example, the *Nabhinandan Jinnoddhar Prabandh*), in which significant historical events (for example, the destructions of temples) were obscured in favor of stories of the patrons' piety, these 19<sup>th</sup>-century European writings focus on the factual surroundings of the site. Whether it was intended or not, by inserting such worldly matters into the narrative of Shatrunjaya, Tod and Forbes were devaluing the sacred nature of the site. Also the cyclic, sacred, and mythical time of previous writings (which suggested an unchanging and sanctified entity) became synonymous with a primitive and archaic society, compared to the dialectical linear view of time (and change implied as progress) in these writings. Although the origins of the site and subsequent developments were discussed in Jain literature, it was mainly to ensure the sanctity of Shatrunjaya, and the notion of functional, linear time was not essential. However, the writings of Tod and Forbes reveal the quest for "historical" dates and "scientific" explanations, which was, the authors imply, only possible through analysis of native texts and oral sources by the "astute Westerner."

Tod and Forbes may be identified as covert Orientalists, but in spite of their approaches (which were clearly dictated by their environs), we cannot dismiss their writings as simply examples of the superior "us" against the inferior "others." While it is clear that Tod does not really appreciate the architecture of the site, both authors display enthusiasm for the site and its histories.<sup>61</sup> The cleanliness of the site, compared to other

---

<sup>60</sup> Part of the 16 Renovations mentioned in the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* can also be seen as "actual events" as probably the last four of the 16 Renovations were historical, compared to the mythical twelve. The main difference between the discussion of the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* and these 19<sup>th</sup>-century authors was probably the focus upon the piousness of the patron and the obstructions he had to overcome to achieve the renovations (in the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*), compared to the focus upon the actual historical dates (in the writings of Tod and Forbes).

<sup>61</sup> For example, Tod exclaims "never did any pilgrim, Jain or Buddhist, approach the sacred

Hindu pilgrimage cities, is often mentioned as evidence of the Jains' industrious way of life. There is an ambiguous attitude to Shatrunjaya, in which the non-existence of a historicity is implicitly criticized, but the state of its present is vaguely praised. This could be due to the fact that both writers discussing Shatrunjaya had conflicting ideas about the site and its patrons. Unlike "dead" or deserted Hindu or Buddhist sites such as Khajuraho or Nalanda, Shatrunjaya was a living site, which was incidentally occupied by Jains, a group of people with whom both Tod and Forbes (as well as the British administration) had a pre-existing relationship, and for whom they also had a certain amount of respect. Also in spite of the fact that Shatrunjaya was being continuously renovated during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the new temples were structures representing the long-established faith of the industrious and reliable Jains, built in their "traditional" style, and thus acceptable to their perceived notion of "Indian" or "religious." These were distinctly different from contemporary 19<sup>th</sup>-century Indo-Saracenic palaces, i.e. hybrid structures built by Indian rulers or "Native Princes," which were mostly regarded with much derision by the British.<sup>62</sup> And the influence of these two personal accounts of Shatrunjaya lingers into the writings of Burgess, attesting to the "power of rhetoric" over

---

Mount Satrunja with more excited feelings than I, a "barbarian" Frank." (Tod, 1971, 274); Likewise, Forbes states that "street after street, and square after square, extend these shrines of the Jain faith, with their stately enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised, in marble magnificence, upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals." (Forbes, 1878, 5)

<sup>62</sup> The Lakshmi Vilas Palace built for the Gaekwar of Baroda is one example of a Native Prince's Indo-Saracenic palace. The most expensive building to be built by a private person all over the British Empire at that time, the Laxmi Vilas Palace cost over £180,000 when it was completed in 1890 by Robert Fellowe Chisholm. For the façade, numerous "Indian" architectural elements, such as domes, curved *bangladar*-style eaves, balconies, arches, pierced screens, and moldings were incorporated into a semi-classical structure creating a monumental view. The palace itself was set in a landscaped garden, now a park, which was designed by an English landscape gardener responsible for the planning of the Kew Gardens in England. Robert F. Chisholm, "Baroda Palace: The Town Residence of H.H. Sir Sayaji Rao," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series vol. 3 (1896): 426.

actual objects.<sup>63</sup>

### The Western Authority: James Burgess

Sometimes called the “disciple” of James Fergusson,<sup>64</sup> James Burgess (1832-1916) started work in India in 1855 as a teacher and later head of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Bombay. Here he studied Indian art and architecture, which led to his founding of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1884 and subsequent appointment as Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1886. Although he left India for Edinburgh in 1889, he continued writing and publishing on Indian architecture, focusing on the organization of archaeological enquiry and systemization of inscription studies. His work, *The temples of Shatrunjaya, the celebrated Jaina place of pilgrimage, near Palitana in Kathiawad, with historical and descriptive introduction*, is one of the most detailed writings on Shatrunjaya, as well as the representative work on Shatrunjaya until the present.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Through the analysis of the historiography of the Durga temple at Aihole, Gary Tartakov argues how sequential reading allows a revelation of the analysts’ methodological concerns, as well as the lasting power of conventionalized views. According to Tartakov, in spite of the fact that Fergusson’s claim (that the Durga Temple was an early Brahmanical temple showing evolution from a Buddhist apsidal *caitya* cave temple) was refuted, the rhetoric of Fergusson remained in writings long after his time. Gary Michael Tartakov, *The Durga Temple at Aihole: A Historiographical Study*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997): 43-45. In a similar manner, Tod and Forbes’ views of Shatrunjaya were consistently quoted in Burgess’ writings on Shatrunjaya, as well as their semi-approving tone of the site.

<sup>64</sup> S.J. Vernoit, “Burgess, James,” *Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, online version, [www.grovearts.com](http://www.grovearts.com), (accessed May 2, 2001).

<sup>65</sup> While there have been a plethora of modern pamphlets and guidebooks published on the topic of Shatrunjaya, there have been no scholarly works comparable to Burgess’. As a result, Burgess’s work was republished in 1976 for the “celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagwan Mahavira Nirvan,” and the *Jain Journal*, the outstanding scholarly journal in Jainology, re-printed Burgess’ work on Shatrunjaya as an homage to the site. Original publication is James Burgess, *The Temples of Satrunjaya, the Celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage, near Palitana in Kathiawad, with Historical and Descriptive Introduction*, (Bombay: Sykes and Dwyer, 1869; Reprint, Gandhinagar; Delhi: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagwan Mahavira Nirvan; exclusive distributors Motilal Banarsidass, 1976). Reprint in *Jain*

*The temples of Shatrunjaya* is an immensely dry read, starting with an introduction to the geography of Gujarat and Jainism, the Tirthankaras and other institutions of Jainism. Burgess continues with histories of dynasties related to the site, including a fairly detailed discussion of the legal cases on the ownership of the site since the Mughal Empire, which had not been resolved at the time of publication. The date and translations of portions of the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* follow, and the final part is dedicated to descriptions of temples accompanied with photographs. In addition to a lack of analysis, Burgess' narrative does not show much emotion, nor does he indicate his presence (just as Forbes' own voice is absent) in spite of the fact that he had visited the site in person.<sup>66</sup>

This detachment from the site and belief in “objectiveness” suggests the principles of 19<sup>th</sup>-century positivistic history that formed the basis of Burgess’ writing. In order to re-construct the past, this type of history assumed that one first needed to historically criticize the available document or object, i.e. externally (through studying the authenticity/provenance) and internally (through positioning each within its milieu).<sup>67</sup> Then the past is constructed through a process of “historical reasoning” which follows historical criticism. Burgess adheres to these principles closely; for example, he looks at the regional histories and documents regarding the history of Jainism and Shatrunjaya, including the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*. However, he treats these indigenous histories as unreliable due to the inaccuracies of the dates, while looking to “Greek writers” or Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Thsang (Xuanzang, 599-664 CE) for concrete facts.<sup>68</sup> This inclusion of Greek or Chinese texts (and the need to compare them with the actual

---

*Journal* is: James Burgess, "Satrunjaya and Its Temples," *Jain Journal* 11, no. 4 (1977): n.p., 1-109.

<sup>66</sup> Burgess describes his personal experiences in visiting the site in a separate short article, *Notes of a Visit to Shatrunjaya Hill, Near Palitana*, (Varanasi: The Times of India, 1868).

<sup>67</sup> Langlois and Seignobos, 1898, 303.

<sup>68</sup> Burgess, 1976, 9-10.

geography or remains) appears in most contemporary official British texts. Historical comparison with Greek or Chinese literature also underlined the “absence” of history in India, which worked as one means to make India as worthy of subjugation.

As the texts related to the site are criticized (externally and internally), the site itself is also scrutinized in this manner. The numerous temples are described with much detail, with dates and patrons ascribed to them in most cases. The architectural details are explained with the aid of accompanying photographs, with further description of stylistic features.<sup>69</sup> However, in a sense, Burgess deliberately omits a crucial part of the information that a 19<sup>th</sup>-century historian never would have left out: the source of all this knowledge. Description of the temples in *The Temples of Shatrunjaya* does not indicate at all where Burgess received the knowledge of dates and patrons, which was most likely through the Gujarati inscriptions, or with the help of a translator who was a Jain or at least very well acquainted with the practices of Jains and the history of the temples at Shatrunjaya. Unlike Tod or Forbes, who acknowledged the role of the native informant, Burgess leaves out this fact, which would have, in the view of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western reader, lessened the authenticity of his claims.<sup>70</sup>

As a result of Burgess’ *Temples of Shatrunjaya*, the site itself was transformed into

---

<sup>69</sup> For example, Burgess’ description of the Chaumukh Temple on the northern peak is as below: “The original is said to date back to king Vikrama, but it was rebuilt in its present form by Sava Somji in A.D. 1618, for in the inscribed plate we read: ‘Samvat 1675, in the time of Sultan Nur-ud-din Jahangir, ....’ It stands on a platform raised fully two feet above the level of the court, and 57 feet wide by about 67 in feet length, but the front of the building extends some distance beyond the end of this. The body of the temple consists of two square apartments with a square porch or *mandapa* to the east, from which a few steps ascend to the door of the *antarala* or hall, 31 feet 2 inches square inside, with a vaulted roof rising from twelve pillars, each 16 inches square. ...” Burgess, 1976, 21.

<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, when he does acknowledge an indigenous source, it is mostly disparaging. For example, after discussion of the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, he mentions, “thus much for the legend.” (17) On images and their dates; “... and two others are as old as 1109 and 1132 A.D. respectively;--but for the accuracy of these dates nothing further is alleged than that they are taken from Jaina accounts.” Burgess, 1976, 27.

an object of analysis, as well as an object of worship. According to Bernard Cohn, the superiority of the colonial administration was established by the compilation, classification and transformation of knowledge,<sup>71</sup> which as a result, replaced the religious faith of the indigenous with Western scholarship. If the amount of detail and information, as well as the formation of a certain rhetoric represents conquest by knowledge and thus conquest by the colonial, Burgess' work represents indeed the conquest of Shatrunjaya by the West. In Burgess and his contemporary authors' opinions, knowing the "past" was to control the "present," and in spite of the fact that Shatrunjaya was a living site continuously worshiped by the Jains, fully understanding the site (whether this understanding was true or imagined) empowered the Westerner, eliminating the fear of yet another unknown.

Most writings on Shatrunjaya after the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including the official survey of the Archaeological Survey of India published in 1897, have closely adhered to Burgess' writing.<sup>72</sup> This was probably due to the popularity of Empiricist history during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which focused on the importance of methodology over theory and the belief that knowledge should be derived from observation of the material world. According to Green and Troupe, the keywords of Empiricist histories included systematic archival research, original/primary sources, verification of sources, impartial research, and inductive method of reasoning from the particular to the general.<sup>73</sup> While these approaches have

---

<sup>71</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 8.

<sup>72</sup> The original report of the Archaeological Survey was made in 1885 and published as a revised version by the Archaeological Survey of India (New imperial series, v. 16) in 1897. James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency : And the Native States of Baroda, Palanpur, Radhanpur, Kathiawad, Kachh, Kolhapur, and the Southern Maratha Minor States*, (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1897): pp.255-278.

<sup>73</sup> Anna Green and Kathleen Troupe, *The Houses of History : A Critical Reader in Twentieth-*

been criticized heavily by following historians, they left an indelible influence on the writings of British officials and following writers of South Asia. Thus, although Shatrunjaya is an ancient site, with pilgrims visiting and building on the site continuously throughout its history, it is possible to argue that the modern “knowledge” of the site actually started to be produced only during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Pradeep Jeganathan, the “very beginning” of this knowledge is crucial in understanding the production of this knowledge, and the practices that produced this knowledge. Since the “authoritative epistemology” of Shatrunjaya, that is the field of power and knowledge in which it is located in today, was created in a radical rupture in the nineteenth century, the Shatrunjaya that we know is only as old as that rupture.<sup>74</sup>

#### Almost Absent: 20<sup>th</sup>-century Histories of Shatrunjaya

20<sup>th</sup>-century histories of Shatrunjaya are mostly found within the discipline of religious studies, especially Jainology, rather than political, regional or art histories. However, even in Jainology, most studies have focused on scriptures and the “canon,” which did not involve discussions of Shatrunjaya. Early studies in Jainology were led by European scholars, including Albrecht Weber, author of *Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina (Sacred Literature of the Jainas)* (1858), and Georg Bühler, who collected and translated Jain manuscripts from the temple libraries in Patan. These studies were mostly concerned with refuting the notion that Jainism was different from Buddhism, a discussion which was only ended in 1879 by the work of Hermann Jacobi.<sup>75</sup> While a few scholars attempted to incorporate field observations of rites and pilgrimage in their

---

<sup>74</sup> *Century History and Theory*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999): 1-4.

<sup>74</sup> Jeganathan, 1995, 106.

<sup>75</sup> Kendall W. Folkert, *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains*, (Cambridge: Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, 1993): 6.

works,<sup>76</sup> the linguistic interest in canonical scriptures led to a scholarly focus on the Shvetambara Jains (whose canonical literature was more available than literature of the Digambara Jains), and on ascetics rather than lay persons. Within this paradigm, the significance of Shatrunjaya could only diminish. Even when indigenous scholars started research on Jainism (for example, through the Agamodaya Samiti of Surat in 1915), the focus on scriptures left a strong imprint, since most Jain scholars were Jains themselves, often ascetics. Cort points out the similarities between this scholarly model *of* the Jains and the internal ideological model *for* the Jains (i.e. the orthodox perspective on the tradition), which led to “the problem … that through unreflective use, the scholarly model *of* understanding the Jains has become reified and become much more a model *for* understanding the Jains; … the end result is a model that is more or less shared by both the scholars of the tradition and the participants in the tradition.”<sup>77</sup> According to Cort, this convergence of the scholarly model of and the internal model for the Jains resulted in “an unconscious protective strategy which has severely hindered the further development of Jain studies.”<sup>78</sup>

Apart from religious studies, Shatrunjaya has been largely ignored in post-Independence histories. The only references to Shatrunjaya in regional or political histories are short anecdotes about its medieval patronage and architecture.<sup>79</sup> This was a reflection of Indian scholarship within history, which focused on questions “regarding the

---

<sup>76</sup> These included Margaret Stevenson’s *The Heart of Jainism* (1915) and J.L. Jaini’s *Outlines of Jainism* (1915). As an exceptional case, Helmuth von Glasenapp’s *Der Jainismus* (1925) draws upon the whole spectrum of Jain material available at that time, with sections on pilgrimage discussing Shatrunjaya briefly.

<sup>77</sup> Cort, 1990a, 54.

<sup>78</sup> Cort, 1990a, 55.

<sup>79</sup> For example, A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat: A Survey of the History and Culture of Gujarat from the Middle of the 10th to the End of the 13th Century*, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956): 87, 318-321, 383-384.

nature and results of colonial rule in India”<sup>80</sup> including the development of a nation-state and/or Hindu-Muslim conflicts. Within the discourse of nation and identity, the “Hindu” India or the “Other” Islamic India were the principal actors, rather than the Jains. For example, the prominence of Maratha historiography in histories of Gujarat is based upon a strong recognition of a regional consciousness, the representation of the Maratha rule as a “Hindu response to oppressive Muslim rule” and a progressive Hindu society trying to change its nature.<sup>81</sup>

The rise of economic studies during the late-1970s led to an interest in the cotton mill industry of Gujarat and the role of Jain merchants/industrialists,<sup>82</sup> which include brief mentions of Shatrunjaya as a site in which the protagonist demonstrates his remarkable business skills. According to Tripathi, it is the astute “business experience” of Kasturbhai Lalbhai, one of the foremost Jain industrialists from Ahmedabad, which leads the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi and saves Shatrunjaya from the tyranny of the Palitana

---

<sup>80</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1 (2000): 11.

<sup>81</sup> In comparison to British colonial histories that defined Gujarat according to its geographical boundaries, post-Independence regional histories mostly focused on specific political entities, especially the Gujarat kingdoms of the Marathas, a clan which rose to eminence during the late Mughal period. The political boundaries of the Marathas were not confined to the region of Gujarat but included parts of the surrounding states of Maharashtra, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh. Stewart Gordon, *The Marathas 1600-1818, The New Cambridge History of India II.4*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 7.

<sup>82</sup> Michael Pearson’s study on the relationship between merchants and rulers can be considered the first of studies focused on the economy of Gujarat. Pearson, 1976. Following Pearson, several scholars have worked on the role of the merchant in modern Gujarat. For example, Makrand Mehta, *The Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Industry: Genesis and Growth*, (Ahmedabad: New Book Order Co., 1982) and *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective: With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat, 17th to 19th Centuries*, (Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991); Dwijendra Tripathi, *The Dynamics of a Tradition: Kasturbhai Lalbhai and His Entrepreneurship*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981); Dwijendra Tripathi and Makrand Mehta, *Business Houses in Western India: A Study in Entrepreneurial Response, 1850-1956*, (Delhi: Manohar, 1990); David Hardiman, *Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Thakur during the final negotiations for the legal case of ownership.<sup>83</sup> However, the piety of Kasturbhai is described through his everyday life rather than pilgrimages or temple building; he is known to be “more interested in the spirit rather than the ceremonial side of religion.” Piety is a personal matter within these narratives. In these narratives of post-Independence India, Shatrunjaya does not have a place within the history of regional consciousness, nor within the history of economic development and recognition of a modern self.

### Boundaries of In and Out: Shatrunjaya Today

Before the Western writings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Shatrunjaya was most explicitly explored in the non-canonical literature of the Jains. Unlike Jain canonical literature or histories of rulers, Jain non-canonical literature revealed the ambiguous location of the viewer, which was within the religion, but also aware of the “outside” world. According to Kenneth Pike, the position of the viewer determines the perspective; “The etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system, and as an initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system.”<sup>84</sup> However, in spite of these different positions, the etic and emic are not always contradictory or exclusive. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both the Jain canonical literature (as the core of Jain philosophy) and non-Jain literature (as an example of the outside viewpoint on Jainism) share a similar perspective in which Shatrunjaya is not significant at all. Certainly this similarity did not result from the same reason. Canonical literature was not interested in Shatrunjaya since it was a site for pilgrimage, a largely lay

---

<sup>83</sup> Tripathi, 1981, 198-202.

<sup>84</sup> Kenneth Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. 2d, rev. ed., (The Hague: Mouton, 1967); quoted in John Cort, 1990a, 55-57.

activity. Non-Jain literature of the rulers, especially the Mughals, was only rarely interested in the “other” religion of Jainism in spite of the numerous interactions between the rulers and Jains, and certainly not to the extent to discuss their pilgrimage sites.

While non-canonical Jain literature had always been aimed to a specific Jain audience, these were not produced in a cultural vacuum in which the addressees were isolated from the rest of the world. Written by poets or ascetics, but clearly aimed at a lay audience, the writings used the authority of the outside world to emphasize the sanctity of Shatrunjaya. In these writings, sacredness was reinforced through contrast with the ordinary landscape of the real world, by making Shatrunjaya an extraordinary, mythical and paradisiacal site. Sanctity was also conferred upon the site through the relationship of the patrons and the Other (the Sultanate dynasties or Mughals), by making Shatrunjaya vulnerable, but also a site of miraculous rebuilding. We can see through these histories of Shatrunjaya that Jain authors had a specific goal of legitimizing and validating their own histories to the followers of the religion, but this could not have been separated from the histories outside the site. In other words, these pre-modern Jain writings employed the real and outside world to contrast and illustrate the sanctity of Jainism and Shatrunjaya.

On the other hand, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century British writers described the site of Shatrunjaya in a completely different way, focusing on the physical details of the site as well as the accuracy of historical facts. The distinctive aim of the Western writer caused this change, since he was not trying to provide sanctity to the site, but rather, to give an objective report of Shatrunjaya. These 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writings created a new view of Shatrunjaya, in which the etic viewpoint was a marker of an objective, scientific, and meticulous observation of the site. However, this new way of describing Shatrunjaya was only possible because the British writers had prior experience and/or informants within

the religion. The Western authors needed the “native informant,” as well as the pre-modern non-canonical literature on the site, which was a step away from the core philosophies and principles of Jainism. As pre-modern Jain non-canonical writings employed the “outside” to accentuate the sanctity of Shatrunjaya, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writers used the “inside” to generate their “objective” narratives on Shatrunjaya. This particular etic viewpoint could only be created with input from the emic viewpoint; it is ironical that this new view of Shatrunjaya, as a physical and historical site deprived of sacredness, was produced with the aid of the inside.

As a result, it is possible to argue that the boundaries of etic/emic, or Western/indigenous, or outside/inside are not as impermeable as they first seemed. Those who remained closer to the boundaries of the outside/inside were the most eloquent in expressing their viewpoints on Shatrunjaya, with their proximity to both sides as well as their proficiency in both languages. In both cases, i.e. the non-canonical Jain literature and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writings, there is an implicit understanding that one viewpoint is superior to the other. However, with the rise of the modern discipline of history, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writings have been critical in shifting the discourse of Shatrunjaya from an abstract and sacred pilgrimage site to a concrete and historic place.

The historiography of Shatrunjaya can be concluded by briefly examining contemporary publications that discuss the site and its histories, which include translations of Jain inscriptions, or biographies of Jain ascetics, for example, Hiravijayasuri.<sup>85</sup> These publications are typically written by Jain ascetics in the regional

---

<sup>85</sup> Quite a few books have been published on Jain inscriptions in Gujarat, including Jinavijaya, *Prachina, Jaina Lekha Sanghara-Part II*, in Gujarati, (n.a., n.a.: 1921), and D.B. Diskalkar, *Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, in Hindi, (n.a., n.a.: 1944). A example of a biography of Hiravijaysuri is Muni Vidyavijaya, *Surisvara Ane Samrata [King of the Gods and the King of the Earth]*, in

language (usually Gujarati), most likely to appeal to a lay audience. One popular form of publication has been the guidebook to pilgrimage sites; an example is Kanchansagarsuri's account of Shatrunjaya, originally published in Gujarati and translated into English in 1978. In his introduction, Kanchansagarsuri mentions that Burgess' book "inspired" him to write this book, and that "if a foreigner could do it [i.e. publish a book on Shatrunjaya] before 100 years, he really deserves a lot of appreciation."<sup>86</sup> The book first introduces Jainism to the reader, and then describes the path to Shatrunjaya and the temples along the way, with excerpts from the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*.<sup>87</sup> To these ascetics or Jain scholars, the utmost goal of such books and pamphlets on Shatrunjaya (or Jainism itself) has been the preservation and propagation of the Jain faith. As introductory books for the laity, these are not free from errors or omissions; however, they probably are the ones with which most laity feel comfortable, with interesting anecdotes on the temples and *tunks* in addition to the occasional hymn or prayer. Smaller pamphlets are often cut up by pilgrims, so that the pilgrims may carry photographs of the Main Adishvara image on Shatrunjaya or their gurus while climbing the hill or praying.

In these writings, Shatrunjaya is the ultimate place of worship, a concrete exemplar of spiritual power. For example, an ascetic emphasizes that "by performing just one

---

Gujarati, Reprint of 1923 edition, (Bhavnagar: Shri Yashovijay Jain Granthmala Vyavsthapak Mandal, 1979).

<sup>86</sup> Acharya Kanchansagarsuri, *Shri Shatrunjay Giriraj Darshan in Sculptures and Architecture*, (Kapadwanj: Aagamoddharak Granthmala, 1982): 5. The reason that Burgess' writings remains acceptable to present-day Jains is probably due to the residual of Forbes' and Tod's influence on Burgess; in addition to faint praise of the architecture, he also displays a grudging (albeit condescending) respect for the Jain religion, too. For example, he agrees on the "bleakness" of atheist Jain theology, but commends it for the "human willfulness in ignoring the final judgement and claiming for man, through the exercise of asceticism, a power over his destiny that is essentially omnipotent." Burgess, 1976, 17.

<sup>87</sup> A more recent example, complete with color photographs of the temples and images and the prayers for lay people, is Acharya Gunratna Surishwar, *A Visit to Shatrunjaya: Running commentary and mental pilgrimage of the holiest hill Shatrunjaya*, (Mumbai: Adhyatmik Shikshan Kendra, 1998).

*upvas* [fasting] on the full moon of Kartak atop Shatrunjay, a man is freed from the bad *karma* of killing a learned man, woman, or child.”<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, Shatrunjaya no longer is a paradisiacal, imagined site. The physical traits of the site are closely recorded, with recommendations of “how” to fulfill the pilgrimage, i.e. which temples to visit, which image to especially worship, what one should know about a specific image, etc. While these new texts on Shatrunjaya continue the tradition of extolling patrons of temples and eulogizing the sanctity of the site, they also accept the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western approaches of describing in detail the site’s many natural and architectural features, in addition to numerous photographs and historical facts. However, the detailed description is not the result of a need to comprehend the site as 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writers aimed to know Shatrunjaya. Guidebooks or pamphlets are published and accepted as “mental pilgrimages” of the site, used as visual aids for meditation or prayers. This signifies an incorporation of popular lay worship practice. Instead of the imaginary landscape and temples of earlier Jain literature, real places of Shatrunjaya such as Hanuman Deri, Rampol, Motishah Tunk, Shantinathji Temple, Kumarpal Temple, Nav Adishvara Derasar, and the Main Adishvara Temple become the foci of the reader. The actuality of the temples now functions to increase the pious experience of the pilgrim. In a similar way, the historical surroundings of the temples and *tunks* provide a sense of authenticity; for example, if the worshiper wants to know why there is a certain temple, or image, or rite of worship, the narrator can now answer, “there is a good history behind it.”<sup>89</sup>

Bearing in mind these different histories of Shatrunjaya, the subsequent chapters focus on the relations between these “written” histories and the physical remains.

---

<sup>88</sup> Bhuvanjay, *Parvakathadi Vividh Vishay Sangrah*, (Bhinmal: Shri Rajendra Bhavan Jain Upashray Samiti, 1981): 75. Quoted in Cort, 2001a, 177.

<sup>89</sup> Gunratna Surishwar, 1998, 63.

Especially, the next chapter provides a link between the written and physical, as it examines documents regarding the act of building temples, or patronage. In contrast to the questions of inside/outside, patronage at Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century raises questions of a different nature: questions regarding the meanings of temples to the audience, especially to the individual patron.

### **Chapter 3. The Patronage at Shatrunjaya**

*"I don't think we've ever been to those temples on the northern summit," said a friend of mine, a Jain architect in Ahmedabad who was helping me with my Gujarati readings and translations. His family of devout Sthanakvasi Jains did not worship murtis; however, he had been to Shatrunjaya several times with his wife who was from a Shvetambara Murtipujak family. During the pilgrimage season there are scores of express buses from Ahmedabad to Shatrunjaya (only a five hours' trip), which enable busy pilgrims to leave the city at dawn, climb the hill and offer worship, and return by midnight. With only a limited amount of time, most pilgrims hasten to the oldest Main Adishvara Temple on the southern summit, so it was not an unusual act for my friend to overlook the temples on the northern summit or the valley. This focus on the southern summit temples is enforced by ascetics, who are adamant that the "yatra [pilgrimage] will be complete only if we visit five temples ... first at Taleti, second at Lord Santinath, third at Rayan, fourth at Pundrik swami and fifth at Lord Adinath [within the Main Adishvara Temple],"<sup>1</sup> in which all but the Taleti temple (at the bottom of the hill) are on the southern summit. To most Jains, the omniscient murti, the reason that they visit Shatrunjaya, is that of Lord Adishvara in the Main Adishvara Temple, and further worship is usually set aside for the next, hopefully longer, pilgrimage.*

*Thus the temples on the northern summit and within the valley remain remarkably undisturbed, even during the most busy season for pilgrims. But why, and when did they lose their significance? They must have had specific meanings to the builders and their*

---

<sup>1</sup> Gunratna Surishwar, 1998, 57.

*contemporaries in order to be built in the first place during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Were these meanings different from the meanings assigned to the Main Adishvara Temple, which is still worshiped as the most sacred temple among Shvetambara Jains? Or maybe the meanings of the northern summit temples were 19<sup>th</sup>-century-specific, and were soon lost without the original personal connections. After introducing the temples and their histories of patronage, this chapter explores the meanings of temples, and how each meaning takes on a life of its own—only to be controlled and finally die—after formation.*

### The Spaces of Shatrunjaya

This section introduces the layout of the temples at Shatrunjaya, and how the spaces are conceived in relation with each other. Starting at the Jay Taleti Temple, at the bottom of the hill in Palitana, one has to climb more than 4000 steps towards the two summits.<sup>2</sup> Passing several shrines, water tanks and resting places, the typical pilgrim reaches a shrine of Hanuman, the monkey god, and turns left towards the southern summit. (Figure 3-1: Map of Shatrunjaya) Entering the fortified walls of the southern summit through Rampol [Ram's Gate], the Main Adishvara Temple can be reached by climbing up to the highest point. If one decides to visit the other temples after worship at the Main Adishvara Temple, she/he has to return to Rampol and exit towards the valley temples. Another path behind the valley temples leads up towards the western part of the northern summit. From the top of the northern summit, one ends the pilgrimage by

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, the southern and northern summits were separated during the 13<sup>th</sup> Renovation of Shatrunjaya. When the devout Javada attempted to removed the old desecrated *murti* (image), the demons who were trapped inside it raised such noise that the earth shook and the mountain itself was split into two. Burgess, 1976, 17.

climbing down towards the Hanuman shrine. Currently there are over 150 freestanding temples in the three areas, not counting the numerous shrines surrounding the main temples within the *tunks*. Built with limestone and often embellished with marble, the temples and smaller shrines share a basic form: a main *murti* housed within a square sanctum, which is usually decorated with relief sculptures of gods and decorative motifs on the exterior walls and topped with a towering superstructure (*shikhara*). As the main sanctum grows larger additional structures are added around the main sanctum, including multiple entrance halls with pillars, *devakulikas* (subsidiary shrines) that surround the main sanctum like a corridor,<sup>3</sup> and freestanding temples within the courtyard formed by the *devakulikas*.

The most important objects of worship, the Main Adishvara Temple<sup>4</sup> and the *rayana* tree behind this temple,<sup>5</sup> are located on the southern summit (Figure 3-2: Main Adishvara Temple). This summit is usually considered to be comprised of two *tunks*, the Dadani Tunk (surrounding the Main Adishvara Temple) and Vimal Vasi Tunk (surrounding the path up towards the Dadani Tunk), although one continuous wall

---

<sup>3</sup> A *devakulika* is an architectural term for subsidiary shrines in a temple. Within a Jain temple (specifically in western India), it refers to the small cells containing images of the Tirthankaras in the cloister surrounding a temple.

<sup>4</sup> The temples and *tunks* of Shatrunjaya all have several names. In particular, the Main Adishvara Temple, and its surrounding *tunk* on the south summit, which is the most important one, has numerous names. Some of them are Adishvara Bhagavan (The Lord Adishvara), Dadani Tunk (Grandfather's Enclosure), Adinath Temple, Vimala Vasahi or Vimalvasi Tunk, etc. Also, depending on the author, the number and names of *tunks* on Shatrunjaya vary. The popular understanding is that there are two or three *tunks* on the southern summit (Dadani Tunk, Vimal Vasahi Tunk, and sometimes, Keshavji Nayak Tunk), two in the valley (Motishah Tunk, Balabhai Tunk), and eight on the northern summit (Modi Tunk, Premabhai Tunk, Ujambai Tunk, Pandava Tunk, Sakar Shah Tunk, Chaumukh or Kharatarava Vasi Tunk, Chip Vasi Tunk, Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk). *Vasahi*, or *vasi*, is sometimes interchanged with the term *tunk*.

<sup>5</sup> The *rayana* tree (Gujarati term for *mimusops hexandra*) is said to be the tree under which the first Tirthankara Adishvara preached his first sermon.

surrounds all of the temples, reminding one of a fortress.<sup>6</sup> (Figure 3-3: Overview of southern summit) The worshiper bypasses the valley temples to enter the southern summit through Rampol, the entrance to the temples on the southern summit. Then one follows a continuous path to the Main Adishvara Temple, which is at the highest point of the summit (Figure 3-4: Main Adishvara Temple). This path passes several more gates, including Vaghan Pol (Tiger Gate) or Hathi Pol (Elephant Gate) (Figure 3-5: View of path). Most temples on the south side of the path are older, for example the Shantinath Temple (originally 1230) or the Kumarpal Temple (originally 1321), while the temples on the north side of the path tend to be more recent. Although the temples and shrines are in continuous worship, the sole Digambara Temple, located to the northeast of the Main Adishvara Temple, is usually deserted apart from the caretakers. The most recent temple on Shatrunjaya is found directly northeast of the Main Adishvara Temple. Consecrated in 1972, the Nutan Jinalaya (The New Jain Temple) was built to house the excess images and shrines within the Dadani Tunk.<sup>7</sup>

The temples in the valley, enclosed within two *tunks*, were built between 1835 and 1860, filling a lake that existed between the two summits (Figure 3-6: View of valley temples). Both of the *tunks* are named after their main patrons, the larger *tunk* after Sheth Motishah (Motichand Amichand), and the smaller after Balabhai, an accountant who worked for Motishah. Following the path behind the valley temples towards the northern summit, the pilgrim encounters the shrine of Adbhutji (“the Magnificent”), which houses

---

<sup>6</sup> However, a large majority of the temples on the southern summit do have respective surrounding walls. Some of these are sometimes considered as separate *tunks*, such as the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Narshi Keshavji Temple, located farthest away from the Adishvara Temple on the southern summit.

<sup>7</sup> Ratilal Dipchand Desai, *Sheth Anandji Kalyanjini Pedhino Itihas*, vol. II, (Ahmedabad: Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, 1983): 66.

the largest *murti* of Adishvara on the hill (Figure 3-7: Adbhutji from outside and main *murti* of Adishvara).

Arriving at the topmost *tunk* of the northern summit, the Modi Tunk, one walks down the hill via several *tunks*, ending at the shrine of the Muslim saint Angar Shah Pir, located at the entrance to the northern summit.<sup>8</sup> The temples on the northern summit is usually divided into eight *tunks*. (Figure 3-8: Overview of northern summit) The earliest enclosure is the Panch Pandava Tunk (1365), with images of the five Pandava brothers of Indian literature, which was built on the site of an ancient temple.<sup>9</sup> However, like other temples on the northern summit, it was renovated during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Chipa Vasi, another small *tunk* with a couple of temples, was also built during the 14<sup>th</sup> century and renovated in 1735. The most imposing structure on the northern summit is sometimes mistaken for the Main Adishvara Temple, as it is the first that one encounters when ascending the hill. This is the Chaumukh Temple, rebuilt on the site of an ancient temple in 1618 (Figure 3-9: Chaumukh Tunk). Apart from these temples, the remaining five *tunks*—Modi Tunk, Hemabhai Tunk, Ujambai Tunk, Sakar Shah Tunk, and the Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk—were built during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earlier *tunks* were also renovated continuously up to the present, with the exclusion of the Chipa

---

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear why a shrine of a Muslim saint was first built on the northern summit of Shatrunjaya. According to legends, Angar Shah Pir was able to control the elements, but was foolish enough to try to strike Adishvara, the first Tirthankara. Although Adishvara could not avoid the attack, it was Angar Shah Pir who died, and his ghost remained on Shatrunjaya haunting the pilgrims. It is believed that a council of Jains confronted the ghost of Angar Shah Pir, who asked that his bones be laid on Shatrunjaya, and after that, he no longer annoyed the pilgrims. There is no date or author ascribed to this legend, although it is repeated in most accounts of Shatrunjaya. Burgess, 1976, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Muni Nyayvijaya, *Jain Tirthono Itihas*, in Gujarati, (Ahmedabad: Shri Caritra Smarak Granthmala, 1949): 89.

Vasi on the northern summit.<sup>10</sup> (See Appendix C: List of temples with the dates of construction and patrons.)

### How to “Read” the Patronage at Shatrunjaya

As the nature of the discourse on Shatrunjaya shifted from abstract to concrete during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the patronage of the site also went through vast changes. Starting in 1786, the next seven decades coincided with the period of most active patronage at Shatrunjaya. During this time, seven new *tunks* were built and existing *tunks* were heavily renovated. The sudden increase in patronage suggests changes in the social, economic, and religious environments of the patrons. The absence of personal patronage after this period (a phenomenon which is continued to the present) also suggests additional changes in how they viewed the temples, i.e. changes in the meanings of religious buildings.

How do buildings produce meanings? Nelson Goodman argues that buildings produce meanings through 1) denotation, i.e. through direct explanation; 2) exemplification, by drawing attention to certain properties; 3) metaphorical expression; and 4) mediated reference (for example, the Lincoln Memorial is associated with progress of civil rights through Abraham Lincoln).<sup>11</sup> The temples at Shatrunjaya produce meanings first through their inscriptions and images for worship (denotation). The architectural elements such as the superstructures (*shikharas*), sanctums (*garbhagrihas*),

---

<sup>10</sup> According to the inscription, the Chipa Vasi was renovated by the Bhavsar (printer) community of non-Jains during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This explains the lack of interest and renovation following the demise of the patrons. The inscription on the Ajit Shanti Deri of the Chipa Vasi indicates that it was renovated by the Bhavars in VS1791 (1734 CE).

<sup>11</sup> Nelson Goodman, “How Buildings Mean.” Quoted in Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 3.

and subsidiary shrines with images, located around the cloister of a temple (*devakulikas*), are features of exemplification. The buildings are also conceived as celestial palaces for the Tirthankaras (metaphorical expression), while projecting a sense of the holy (mediated reference). For example, the Shantinath Temple, the main temple of Motishah Tunk in the valley, produces its meanings as a “temple” through the image of Shantinath, the sixteenth Tirthankara, that is placed within the building (Figure 3-10: Shantinath Temple, Motishah Tunk). The inscriptions also indicate that this building is a temple for a deity, provided by Motishah. The form of the temple, with its sanctum topped with a superstructure, designates that this is a sacred space. It is a palace for the Tirthankara, and associated with sanctity through various means including the location of the site, the deity within, and the rituals that are performed within the building itself.

However, meanings are not naturally generated, nor remain the same through the life of a building. Meanings of temples are constructed and modified continuously by the users, dictated by their ideology, or “a more or less social set of ideas and values” which are hierarchically superior to non-ideological realms of value.<sup>12</sup> It is also the essence of ideology to be unstable and protean; in addition, the manifestation of ideology in works of art is usually vague, apart from the fact that they are crucial in the production of work

---

<sup>12</sup> Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, translated by by Mark Sainsbury and Basia Gulati, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980): 343. However, Cort also cautions one that while ideology and ideologues have existed throughout history, the concept of such was created only with Marxist/post-Marxist theory, and are different (in that they lack self-awareness) from 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century European/American ideologies/ideologues. Cort, 2001a, 12.

by generalizing the repressions in the conditions of production and imagining that the contradictions of a given historical situation are solved.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, in order to understand “what” a building means, there is a need to look at the diverse receptions of the buildings by the public. According to Cort, these receptions, including artistic and aesthetic judgments, are intertwined with contemporaneous theological and ritual issues; thus we need to know the categories that were operative in the past, at the time of the creation.<sup>14</sup> In addition, monuments and sites acquire multiple meanings throughout their history, beginning with their inception continuing to the present, and these meanings yet again shape later thoughts and practices. As well as focusing on the origin and creation of buildings, the life after creation also must be recognized, in order to reconstruct “an indigenous discourse about the past.”<sup>15</sup>

During periods of vast change, in which multiple and often conflicting meanings are produced, reproduced and challenged, the processes of naturalizing meanings are accentuated more often than not. The meanings of the temples at Shatrunjaya also underwent changes through successive stages of construction, which can be divided into three stages. The first stage is the longest, starting at the vague beginning of the history of the site, ending at the Islamic Sultanate period in western India. Most buildings of the first stage are only known through literature or inscriptions. The second stage is during the Mughal reign, when active patronage at Shatrunjaya resumed for approximately 50

---

<sup>13</sup> T.J. Clark, "The Conditions of Artistic Creation," in *Art History and Its Methods*, edited by Eric Femie, (London: Phaidon Press, 1995): 251.

<sup>14</sup> John E. Cort, "Communities, Temples, Identities: Art Histories and Social Histories in Western India," in *Ethnography and Personhood*, edited by Michael Meister, (Jaipur; New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000): 102.

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987): 58.

years between the 1580s and 1630s. The final stage is during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the focus of this dissertation, when the meanings of previously built temples as well as new temples were challenged, expanded, and modified. In order to understand patronage of this final stage, there is a need to first briefly examine the earlier stages of construction.

### Realm of Myth: Pre-16<sup>th</sup>-century Architecture

Jain literature claims the first temple and images at Shatrunjaya were consecrated by the first world emperor (*chakravartin*) Bharata, son of the first Tirthankara Adishvara.<sup>16</sup> The earliest reference to a non-mythical date of building at Shatrunjaya is found only within Jain literature, which claims that the Thirteenth Renovation of the Main Adishvara Temple was executed in Vikram Samvat 108 (52 CE).<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the earliest archaeological remains from Shatrunjaya date from the eleventh century, with one inscription on an image of Pundarika-Swami dated to 1006 CE.<sup>18</sup> Additional sculptures of prosperous laymen are dated 1075, 1286 and 1374, suggesting

---

<sup>16</sup> Adishvara is known by several different names, including Rshabhnath, Adinath, Adishvara Bhagavan. According to Jain literature, Adishvara's son, Bharata, erected a *stupa* and temple in honor of his father, and installed 24 life-size images of the Tirthankaras as well as images of himself and his 99 brothers, who obtained nirvana along with Rshabhnath. However, the location of this stupa and temple is not clear. In early Jain literature, such as the *Avashvaka-Niryukti*, *gatha* 435, this place is clearly designated as Ashtapada, the mythical mountain in the Himalayas. Since it is popularly believed that Bharata made a gate at Ashtapada to protect the site forever, according to Hemacandracharya, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century ascetic, Ashtapada is also identified as Shatrunjaya. U.P. Shah, *Jaina Rupa Mandana*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987): 15, 97.

<sup>17</sup> The Sixteen Renovations of Shatrunjaya has been discussed in the previous chapter. The 13<sup>th</sup> Renovation, i.e. the first of the non-mythical renovations, is said to have been by Javada, merchant of Kampilyapura. Also see Appendix A for a list of the 16 Renovations.

<sup>18</sup> Dundas, 1992, 223.

patronage during this period.<sup>19</sup> These inscriptions and sculptures confirm that the lay practice of endowing temples and images were fully established by the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

However, dated images of deities or lay worshipers do not confirm the dates of the temples or shrines in which they are preserved, since there are many examples of Jains reusing or transporting images.<sup>20</sup> Thus early dates of constructions at Shatrunjaya are mostly deduced through Jain literature or inscriptions which were saved and embedded within the buildings during renovations on the site. According to these sources, the Main Adishvara Temple was rebuilt in 1157 by minister Vagbhatta, son of minister Udayana, probably replacing a timber structure built around the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> Following this period, Vastupala (d. 1240) and Tejahpala (d. 1248 or 1252), ministers of the Chalukhya rulers, led a congregational pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya and Girnar during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. After lamenting the state of the temples, they donated a large sum of money for renovation of the temples and other structures. Also, an old path leading up to the summit from Palitana, parallel to the present path, is known to have been built by Tejahpala in 1232.<sup>22</sup> According to the inscriptions on images within the Main Adishvara Temple, the

---

<sup>19</sup> Jack C. Laughlin, *Aradhakamurti/Adhishthayakamurti--Popular Piety, Politics, and the Medieval Jain Temple Portrait*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003): 11. These images are sculptures of Shreshthi-Narayana (1074-75; figure 5 in book), Gunasenashuri of the Nagendra Gaccha (1286; figure 6 in book), and Mandalika and Nida (1373; figure 3 in book). Laughlin also shows how the portrait sculptures were re-used: "For example, some of the portraits of Desala and family (1323 and 1358 CE) from Desala's renovation of Shatrunjaya and after have been reinstalled in niches within more recent temples in the compound of the Adishvara Temple. More recent portraits are installed in niches in the *rangamandapas* [entrance halls] of their temples." (22)

<sup>20</sup> While damaged images are usually deemed not worship-worthy, employing ancient sculptures or sculptures from other sites or temples are not uncommon, especially if they boast great antiquity. Also see previous footnote.

<sup>21</sup> John Cort argues that there probably was "no significant Jain presence here before the middle of the first millennium CE at the earliest." Personal communication.

<sup>22</sup> Jyotindra Jain, "Spatial System and Ritual Use of Satrunjaya Hill," *Art and Architecture Research Papers*, 17 (1980): 48.

temple was rebuilt or renovated with marble during this period.<sup>23</sup> The *devakulikas* of the Main Adishvara Temple were built by minister Vastupala and the descendants of minister Udayana and Jagadusha of Kutch between 1220 to 1250.<sup>24</sup>

No temples survive in any form from this period, due to the renovations and/or political disturbances in northwestern India during the subsequent two centuries. Most notable among these disturbances was the massive destruction of temples in 1313 CE described in the previous chapter. But in spite of the disturbances and following Islamic Sultanate rule, the Jain patrons—i.e., merchants, who were quick to adjust to new systems of authority—began partial renovations on the site very soon. According to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, the 15<sup>th</sup> Renovation of the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya took place in 1315 during the rule of Alp Khan, with the patronage of Samara Shah, a merchant from Patan.<sup>25</sup> Additional dates of temples on the southern summit are gleaned through more inscriptions on the site, including the Bhulavani Temple in the Vimal Vasahi Tunk, built around 1320. Up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century several smaller shrines were added to the southern summit, and probably a few on the northern summit.

### The Mughal “Renaissance”: 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century architecture of Shatrunjaya

Apart from Samara Shah’s renovation, records of renovation or construction on

---

<sup>23</sup> Due to the following destructions and reconstructions, there is no actual remaining evidence of this 13<sup>th</sup>-century reconstruction.

<sup>24</sup> Madhusudan A. Dhaky, "The Western Indian Jaina Temple," in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* edited by Madhusudan A. Dhaky and U.P. Shah, (Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavir Nirvana; Distributed by L.D. Institute of Indology, 1975): 360.

<sup>25</sup> Kanchansagarsuri, 1982, 20.

Shatrunjaya during the Sultanate rule in Gujarat are scarce. However, we then see a surge in patronage at the site following the Mughal emperor Akbar's conquest of Gujarat (1573). The first work of this period includes renovations of the Main Adishvara Temple between 1580 and 1593. Following renovations of the main temple, a substantial number of new *tunks* and temples were built or renovated, including the Chaumukh Tunk, the largest enclosure on the northern summit, rebuilt in 1618 by a wealthy Ahmedabad merchant.<sup>26</sup> Further additions include the Digambara Temple (1629) and the Sothambha Temple (1630) on the southern summit, as well as the Adbhutji Temple (1630) on the path linking the two summits. After 1630, there were only sporadic renovations, including renovations of the much smaller Panch Pandava Tunk (1721) and Chipa Vasi (1751).

What brought about this patronage during the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries? One of the reasons could be the relative lack of political turmoil, which may have facilitated patronage and pilgrimage to the site. Most of Gujarat was incorporated into Mughal provinces, and Mughal governors (who were often Mughal princes or heirs to the throne) ruled from Ahmedabad, leading to a period of stability to the area.<sup>27</sup> Also, Jain

---

<sup>26</sup> Date of construction is confirmed in inscription: "Samvat 1675, in the time of Sultan Nur-ud-din Jahangir, Sowai Vijaya Raja and the Princes Sultan Khoshru and Khurram, on Saturday, Baisakh Sudh 13<sup>th</sup>, Devaraja and his family, of which were Somji and his wife Rajaldevi, executed the temple of the four-faced Adinatha." James Burgess, 1976, 56. According to the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, the history of the Gujarat Sultanates, the patron repaired or rebuilt the shrines and paid for the walls, and brought marble from Makrand, Marwar, for the principal image, spending more than 48 lakhs of rupees. James Burgess, 1976, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Gujarat was incorporated as one of the twelve *subahs* (province) during Akbar's reign. The *subah* of Gujarat was divided into nine *sarkars* (districts). The *sarkar* of Sorath included Palitana and Shatrunjaya. Both Aurangzeb and Murad Baksh, sons of Shah Jahan, served as Governor of Gujarat for several years. Another Mughal administrative term used in records is *pargana*, which was the local administrative units of a *sarkar*. Abul Fazl Allami, *The Ain i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1907): Section 164-165. (From *The Packard Humanities Institute: Persian Texts in Translation* at

merchants and bankers proved to be valuable assets to the Mughals, providing coveted gems and jewelry in addition to financial support. Mughal *farmans* dated to the time of the building of several temples acknowledge the Jains' religion and the temples of Shatrunjaya, and granted Jains the rights to Shatrunjaya.<sup>28</sup> This may have been due to the Jain ascetics' considerable influence in the courts of Akbar and his successor Jahangir, as discussed in the previous chapter. One of these ascetics was Hiravijayasuri (1526-95), who as head of the prominent Tapa Gacch (lineage, or sub-division of a sect)<sup>29</sup> was the first of a series of Jain ascetics at the Mughal court. Before his death, Hiravijayasuri led a massive pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya in 1593/4, and following this period, pilgrimages were continued by his disciples for the next three decades.<sup>30</sup> These dates coincide closely with the renovation and construction of temples at the site. Considering the difficulties of long-distance pilgrimage during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible that the *sangh* (assembly)<sup>31</sup> would have stayed at Shatrunjaya (or rather, Palitana) for much longer periods than is common these days, maybe for the duration while a new temple was built. The role of pilgrimage, a long assiduous process, as sacrifice, i.e. a religious journey leaving the secure place of home, is not to be underestimated. As the product of each large-scale pilgrimage, the newly-built temple would have become a visual reminder of the

---

<http://persian.packhum.org/persian/>, accessed July 31, 2006)

<sup>28</sup> For details on the *farmans*, see Chapter 6 and Appendix B.

<sup>29</sup> A *gacch* is a subdivision within the sects of Shvetambara Jains. Originally based on the meaning "those who travel together," ascetics and lay worshipers form a *gacch* following a leading ascetic. The most prominent *gacchs* among Gujarati Jains are the Tapa Gacch, Khartar Gacch and Ancal Gacch.

<sup>30</sup> M.S. Commissariat, "Epigraphic Records Relating to Hiravijaya Suri," in *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. III No.3 (1941): 151.

<sup>31</sup> A *sangh* has several meanings, of which the most commonly used one is the "four-fold community (*caturvidh*)," i.e. the totality of the Jain community formed by male ascetics, female ascetics, laymen, and laywomen. It may also mean the totality of the mendicant community, or a neighborhood or city-based lay congregation. Cort, 2001a, 209. Within this dissertation, *sangh* is used to denote an assembly of ascetics and laypeople, which would later form a "community."

pilgrimage. The temples as a visual reminder presents itself as a shared “meaning” of the pilgrimage, the common experience of the patrons.

### Gilding the Lily: Late 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Architecture of Shatrunjaya

More than half of the current temples were built during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, making it the most active period of building temples at Shatrunjaya. (Appendix C. List of temples at Shatrunjaya with dates and patrons) Built in 1786, the Modi Tunk on the northern summit indicates the beginning of an architectural revitalization. Commissioned by a prominent merchant of Ahmedabad, it also signified the rise of a practice at Shatrunjaya, in which the temple or *tunk* is named after the donor, rather than the residing deity.<sup>32</sup> Following Modi Tunk, four major *tunks* were added to the northern summit during the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Hemabhai Tunk (1826), Sakar Shah Tunk (1836), Ujambai Tunk (1837), and the Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk (1862). The two main *tunks* in the valley, the Motishah (1837) and Balabhai (1837) Tunks, were built one after the other. According to the biography of Motishah, the artisans who worked on the Motishah Tunk saved their own wages and built the Balabhai Tunk. Also, numerous shrines were added around the two summits during this period, especially within the Vimal Vasi Tunk surrounding the Main Adishvara Temple on the southern summit. This led to a decree

---

<sup>32</sup> A few earlier examples within Jainism which invoke the patrons include Vimala’s Temple and Tejpala’s Temple at Mount Abu, Kumarpal’s Temple at Shatrunjaya (1232), and the Camunda Raya Temple at Shravana Belgola; however all of these patrons are associated with powerful rulers, rather than local merchants. Another possible exception at Shatrunjaya is the Chaumukh Temple (1618), which is also known as the Kharatar Vasahi (the enclosure of the Kharatar Gaccha, or sect) or the Sava Somji Tunk (enclosure of Sava Somji). The prominence of Sava Somji, a wealthy merchant from Ahmedabad, as well as his role in the pilgrimages of this year with the *munis* of the Kharatar Gaccha, probably led to his name and the sect name being incorporated to the name of the *tunk*; however, of the three names, Sava Somji Tunk is the least commonly used one.

issued in 1811 by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi which forbade anybody to build new temples within the enclosed area of the southern summit.<sup>33</sup> At this point it is possible to ask several questions related to this burst of activities, such as, why here, why now? And what were the meanings of these very temples?

### Why here? The Role of Jain Pilgrimage

The sanctity of Shatrunjaya extolled in Jain literature was without doubt the main reason for patronage throughout the history of the site. As attested in numerous texts, Shatrunjaya is renowned as the site of the first sermon—and probably also the site of nirvana—for the first Tirthankara, and every Tirthankara but one is said to have visited the site, some more than once.<sup>34</sup> However, while the sanctity of Shatrunjaya is supported by literary evidence, Bhardwaj asserts that “each society conceives the deities in the framework of its religion, and it is ultimately the society which selects the holy places where its deities manifest themselves.”<sup>35</sup> Once the sanctity is established, it is again spread in multiple ways, for example through further recognition in religious literature, contact among pilgrims and others, and the enterprising role of a priest or institutions, or

---

<sup>33</sup> Desai, 1983, vol. II, 64.

<sup>34</sup> According to Jain literature, Neminath, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Tirthankara, is the only one who did not visit Shatrunjaya. Thus in a pilgrim’s itinerary around the Jain sites of Gujarat, Girnar (also known as Mount Raivataka, where Neminath is known to have achieved *nirvana*) is usually incorporated after Shatrunjaya. Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, is said to have visited Shatrunjaya more than a thousand times. U. P. Shah, 1987, 165.

<sup>35</sup> Surinder M. Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973): 84. He also argues that several significant factors are needed for a place to become a holy place in present days, including 1) repute in religious literature, 2) national importance, and 3) relationships these places have with the pilgrims’ lives.

“the priest-pilgrim relationships.”<sup>36</sup> Among these factors, the role of the pilgrim stands out as the most active in establishing and distributing the sanctity of the site. If a site resonated with a pilgrim, there was more chance it would thrive.

Shatrunjaya meets the need for devotional worship among pilgrims, as a depository of powerful *murtis* and objects, which provided the lay worshiper with the sense of fulfillment at the end of a pilgrimage.<sup>37</sup> Unlike images of Hindu deities, which are believed to be embodiments of the god and have the power to bestow results (or inflict consequences), images of Tirthankaras are not believed to use their powers on behalf of the worshiper, since they are images of those who have already renounced (and overcome) worldly affairs. However, popular Jainism circumvented this problematic relationship between the worshiper and powerful images. According to Cort, if the image has powers, it is believed to be due to the *murti*, the image itself, rather than the deity residing in the image. Cort argues that in theory, Jains distinguish between advancement upon the path to liberation (*moksha-marg*) and worldly benefits. Thus they do not ask worldly benefits from Tirthankaras. In a similar fashion, they distinguish between the Tirthankara and the Tirthankara *murti* itself, and ask the *murti* for blessings of worldly benefits.<sup>38</sup> In addition to its orthodox appeal, Shatrunjaya also offered this practical feature, which would have attracted pilgrims throughout history.

Religious literature and powerful *murtis* may explain the consistent patronage of

---

<sup>36</sup> Bhardwaj, 1973, 201-215. According to Bhardwaj, “the traditional systems have been based largely on the social relationships between the priest and the pilgrim. These relationships are undergoing changes due to the emergence of new media or communication and transportation.”

<sup>37</sup> The *murti* of Adishvara in the main temple is renowned for its power of gift granting, as well as the Rayan Tree, which has a shrine that dates back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century according to a *Caitiyaparipati*. Jain, 1980, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Cort, 2001a, 94.

Shatrunjaya; however, they do not explain the reason for concentrated 19<sup>th</sup>-century patronage of this site. Compared to Shatrunjaya, other sites that may have contested the primary sanctity of Shatrunjaya, including Girnar in Gujarat, Mount Abu in Rajasthan, Sammet Shikhara and Pawapuri in Bihar, too, do not see much patronage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from a few renovations and additions such as stone stairs, there is almost no 19<sup>th</sup>-century construction at these sites.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps, then, Shatrunjaya's geographic advantages made it the recipient of concentrated patronage during this period. It is not far from Ahmedabad and Surat, as well as Mumbai, especially when approached by sea routes. All of these cities were major commercial centers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, replacing earlier port cities on the Western Indian coast such as Cambay or the Portuguese centers of Daman and Diu. Although Delhi was traditionally the political center of northern India, with trade flourishing between the Arab world, East Africa, Malacca, and China, trade and its associated wealth were mainly concentrated along the sea routes for the merchants of the western Indian coast. The proximity of Shatrunjaya to these commercial centers with wealthy merchants could have been another explanation for concentrated patronage. Also many merchants from Ahmedabad were actively involved in the management of the site through the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, which probably encouraged patronage here, rather than at other prominent sites in Gujarat or Rajasthan.

---

<sup>39</sup> Actually, when considering the patronage of different sites in earlier times, much more attention is given to Girnar, which is mentioned as Siddhachal or Raitava, rather than Shatrunjaya. However, Cort hypothesizes that further patronage of Girnar was probably hindered due to the extensive presence of Hindu ascetic orders, such as the Nagas. Personal communication. Mount Abu was also shared with other religions, including a powerful Shaivite order. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mount Abu also housed the summer headquarters of the British Agent-General for Rajputana. These may have been reasons why in spite of their location in western India, they did not attract as much patronage as Shatrunjaya.

## Why Now? Riches and Religiosity

The renewed patronage of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also coincides with a time of substantial wealth for the Jain merchants of Ahmedabad and Mumbai, who were the major patrons of the temples at Shatrunjaya. In spite of the Jains' traditional wealth, the decline of the Mughal Empire and the rule of the Marathas (1760-1819) weakened most trade and commerce in Gujarat during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> However, by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jain merchants of Ahmedabad and Bombay had gained enormous wealth through export of opium to China. A widespread network was formed among those dealing with Malwa opium, one that included Jain merchants such as Sheth Motishah of Bombay, and Nagarsheth Hemabhai Vakhetchand and Hathee Singh Kersrising of Ahmedabad. While Jain merchants also traded other commodities (especially textiles and spices), the enormous profit from opium dealing during this limited period (c. 1800 to 1850) may have been a significant reason for the prolific temple building.<sup>41</sup>

The lay community formed of merchants was the main force behind the patronage of temples, and changes within the merchant community during the 19<sup>th</sup> century probably

<sup>40</sup> The attack of Surat by Shivaji (1664) indicates the beginning of Maratha influence in Gujarat, which was strongest during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Forbes discusses the state of Ahmedabad in 1781, during a Maratha-British campaign: "Solitude, poverty, and desolation." James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, Reprint 1913, (London.: R. Bentley, 1834): 257-258. While the *sarafs* [merchants] of Ahmedabad still worked as revenue collectors and bankers for the Marathas, many fled to other cities in fear of extortion. Kenneth Gillion, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Urban History*, (Ahmedabad; Berkeley; Los Angeles: New Order Book; University of California Press, 1968): 32.

<sup>41</sup> Kunjlata N. Shah, "Motichand Amichand: A Shipping Magnate of Bombay, 1782-1836," in *Studies in India's Maritime Trade* edited by Amitabha Mukherjee, (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1999): 99. Opium trade was started by the East India Company from the 1760s after the conquest of Bengal and Bihar, the opium-growing areas of India, in order to finance the Chinese imports of tea, silk and porcelain. Lured by the enormous profits, the Princely States of Malwa and Rajasthan started cultivating opium, which was exported from the western ports of India by Indian traders (including the Jains) during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The British levied heavy duties, leading to illegal export of opium from the non-British ports of western India such as Daman, and finally took over control of the trade by the 1850s.

propelled further patronage at Shatrunjaya. Patronage, i.e. providing for temples and images as well as religious ceremonies, had traditionally been the duty of Jain laymen. While the rigorous ideals of an ascetic tradition and adherence to canonical scriptures formed the core of Jainism (which was represented by the life of the ascetic), these forms of temple patronage provided the layman with “an institutional arena in his or her religious life in which lay control is dominant.”<sup>42</sup> This coincides with the fact that in spite of the ascetics’ role in the consecration ceremonies, Jain temple building, as well as worship, does not require a priest/clergy as an intermediary and as a result, is much more community-oriented than Hindu worship.<sup>43</sup>

Reasons for lay patronage were diverse. On one hand, *dana* (ritual giving) was performed to acquire merit for the donor. On the other hand, especially for merchants, *dana* was also a significant component in building the reputation of a merchant and his business. Reputation, which allowed merchants to borrow money, was crucial to the informal credit markets of India. The informal credit market of Gujarat and Rajasthan was one of the largest in India, with the highest proportion of money-lenders and bankers per capita, most of them Jains and Marwaris.<sup>44</sup> Within this system, the overall credit standing of the borrowing party factored in the decisions of the brokers, rather than a specific project or enterprise.<sup>45</sup> However, according to C.A. Bayly, substantial changes of

---

<sup>42</sup> Folkert, 1993, 15.

<sup>43</sup> The actual worship has no need for an intermediary, but this does not mean that the ascetics were completely excluded from the rituals. Popular rituals were probably refined and/or modified by ascetics, and it is not a coincidence that the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought much of this modification, with the rise of concern for authenticity and semblance to the “real” Jainism. Cort, 1992, 179-180.

<sup>44</sup> Marwaris are a community of entrepreneurs from the area of Marwar, Rajasthan, who are predominantly Hindu. Lakshmi C. Jain, *Indigenous Banking in India*, (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1929): 1.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas A. Timberg and C.V. Aiyar, "Informal Credit Markets in India," *Economic*

the finance and commerce sector were encouraged by the British during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This included the introduction of British notions of individual legal responsibility limited to one lifetime, as well as the reorganization of tolls, bazaar duties and urban taxation, which threatened the traditional structure of the merchant community since it overturned local indemnities and privileges.<sup>46</sup> Bayly argues that the merchant society reacted to these changes by remaining conservative and cautious, and the role of religiosity was still pivotal in acquiring credit (*sakh*), or “the reputation for soberness and respectability.”<sup>47</sup> This was true especially in Ahmedabad, which, in spite of its British rule from 1817, maintained much of its traditional practices. Thus another reason for the 19<sup>th</sup>-century patronage at Shatrunjaya could be a rekindled interest in amassing merit for the purpose of asserting creditworthiness, which would have strengthened the traditional informal credit market.

#### How? Changes in the Processes of Patronage

Patronage flourished at Shatrunjaya from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fuelled by sanctity provided through Jain literature, the convenient location, a vast increase of wealth, and changes in the merchant society. However, patronage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century

---

*Development and Cultural Change* 33, no. 1 (1984): 45.

<sup>46</sup> The idea of individual competence in law and temporal limitation of liability was introduced in the Bengal Regulations of 1793. In spite of the British efforts, colonial reforms and demands were mostly ineffective. Especially, the demands to produce books in court were refuted by every means possible, due to the fact that these books were indistinguishable to the honor of the family, and investigations of books were regarded as violations of the basic tenets of mercantile secrecy. C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 379-380.

<sup>47</sup> Bayly, 1983, 373. Bayly focuses mostly on the Hindu merchants of North India. According to Bayly, within the Hindu merchant community “the revival of Hindu religion in the new states provided standards of orthodox behaviour to which all who participated in the moral community of the merchant were constrained to respond.”

was distinct from earlier patronage in several ways. It is clear that the patrons adhered to the belief that building a temple or installing an image at Shatrunjaya was one of the most worthy deeds that could be done by a Jain layman.<sup>48</sup> Specifically, it was popularly reiterated in literature that merit earned from renovating an old temple was eight times more than building a new temple.<sup>49</sup> For this reason, most pre-19<sup>th</sup> century patronage at Shatrunjaya focused on rebuilding or renovating the main shrine at the site, the Main Adishvara Temple. As discussed earlier, the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya* commends the “16 Renovations” of Shatrunjaya, in which patrons rebuilt the destroyed or deserted site. In contrast, 19<sup>th</sup>-century patronage was largely concentrated on constructing new temples, rather than renovating or embellishing the existing structures. The space for new temples was created if needed. Seven new *tunks* were built on the hill, all by Jain merchants and their families from Ahmedabad or Bombay. It is possible that the *tunks*—identified with the donor by the name—were representations of the donors’ desires to associate their names with Shatrunjaya.<sup>50</sup>

The need to publicize one’s merit (and creditworthiness) also led to extravagant displays of religiosity. According to James Laidlaw, the sense of a Jain community is strengthened through two religious processes: the patronage of communally owned

<sup>48</sup> For example, in a 20<sup>th</sup>-century text often used by ascetics, it is argued that worshiping at Shatrunjaya incurred a hundred times more *punya* (merit) than worshipping at Ashtapada, Sammetshikhara, Pavapuri, Campapuri, or Girnar. Even at Shatrunjaya, one attains a hundred more times *punya* by installing an idol, and a 1000 times *punya* by constructing a temple, and infinite *punya* by defending it. Kanchansagarsuri, 1982, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Desai, II, 1983: 209. However, it is also likely that this notion was invented to induce the provision of funds for renovations.

<sup>50</sup> It is not clear whether the names of the *tunks* were explicitly proclaimed by the donors. However, according to accounts of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Sakar Shah’s Tunk (1836) is mentioned as “Sakarcand’s Tunk” in 1837, a year after the consecration. *Accounts dating from VS 1886*: n.p. This indicates that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the donor’s name would have been most likely expected to be associated with the *tunk*.

religious buildings, and participation in the events they house.<sup>51</sup> Pilgrimage (especially to a newly built temple) combines both processes. The lay leader of the pilgrimage provided for those who did not have resources to go on pilgrimage, and was usually given the title of Sanghpati (Leader of the Assembly), which was considered to be the equivalent of taking monastic initiation.<sup>52</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup>-century patronage of Motishah provides an example of these religious processes; Rs. 1.1 million was spent on the building of Motishah Tunk, while the consecration ceremony (*pratishtha*) in 1837 cost an additional 700,000 rupees, an astronomical amount for that time.<sup>53</sup> For the ceremony, Motishah's family rented a ship to transport attendees from Bombay to a port close to Shatrunjaya. The British governor at this time, as well as several wealthy Parsi and Muslim merchants, donated money for the pilgrimage and also attended the farewell ceremony at the Bombay Fort.<sup>54</sup> 125,000 to 150,000 pilgrims converged at Shatrunjaya and ascetics from the three leading lineages (*gacchas*) performed the consecration ceremonies together. According to Kapadia, in order to provide for the pilgrims, food and other necessities were sent beforehand to Palitana; wells, kitchens, and hygiene facilities were maintained

---

<sup>51</sup> Laidlaw discusses the present-day Shvetambar Jain community of Jaipur. James Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy and Society among the Jains*, (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1995): 138.

<sup>52</sup> Dundas, 1992, 187.

<sup>53</sup> We learn from Motishah's biography that the Motishah Tunk at Shatrunjaya was not the first temple he built. His first temple was in Mumbai, the center of his commercial activities. This is the Shantinath Temple in the Byculla neighborhood, close to the Fort area. It was built between 1829 and 1830 by *sompuras*, a caste of professional architects, whom he had brought to Mumbai. This temple later became the model for the main temple in the Motishah Tunk at Shatrunjaya. After the Shantinath Temple, Motishah built a *dharamshala* (pilgrims' lodging house) in Palitana, which is one of the oldest surviving structures there today, and still managed by the descendants of Motishah. The reasons for this sequence of building could have been due to the availability of funds, but it is also very likely that Motishah preferred to build firstly in his own center of business, Mumbai, rather than at Shatrunjaya. Shah, 1999, 96-105, 155.

<sup>54</sup> Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia, *Sheth Motishah*, 2nd edition, in Gujarati, (Mumbai: Shri Godiji Jain Derasar and Trustees of Dharmada Department, 1991): 175-176.

by the assembly, and security was also provided by a police force brought from Bombay. These costs were all paid by Motishah, although donations were made by other prominent Jain merchants such as Hemabhai from Ahmedabad, who also brought separate assemblies (*sanghs*) to the ceremony.<sup>55</sup> Such display of religious giving would have reinforced Motishah's reputation and honor, not only among his fellow Jains, but also among the larger business community in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Thus Shatrunjaya became a significant repository of creditworthiness, endowed with monuments reserved to publicize the religious merit/credit of the patron.

### Perilous Patronage

The desire to build new temples for the sake of religious merit/credit was not always fulfilled without difficulties. According to Motishah's biography, he insisted on adhering to the traditional manuals (*shastras*) when planning the temples of Motishah Tunk.<sup>56</sup> However, several problems arose during the building stage. One was the lack of a site large enough to accommodate the temple enclosure that Motishah envisioned. Instead of moderating his plans to a smaller scale, he decided to build within the valley between the two summits, on a site that was a lake at the time. He commenced filling it despite Jain beliefs that this would harm the living beings in the water. The concerns of his fellow merchants about the cost of filling the lake did not deter him either.<sup>57</sup> In spite of his professed adherence to traditional religious beliefs and practices, his main objective was to build an impressive structure as quickly as possible. Also, rather than

---

<sup>55</sup> Kapadia, 1991, 172-188.

<sup>56</sup> Kapadia, 1991, 114.

<sup>57</sup> Kapadia, 1991, 107.

waiting for an astrologically suitable date, Motishah performed the ground-breaking ceremony on the earliest date possible. Clearly he was motivated by more than piety. And although Motishah's patronage was the most extravagant, it was not unique during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century; other patrons with similar backgrounds to Motishah also focused on building large new *tunks* at Shatrunjaya, which became popularly identified with the donor. These *tunks* confirm the donors' desire to underscore their own religiosity and to reap rewards (material or spiritual) of the patronage.

However, balancing of *dana* (ritual giving) and its results is a delicate matter, in which reciprocity is not straightforward. *Dana* means ritual gifting to persons (ascetics) or institutions such as temples or libraries; temple building is a *dana* to Shatrunjaya, the sacred site. The patron "gifts" temples or sculptures to Shatrunjaya just as the layman "gifts" alms to the ascetics, the holy men and women. Yet giving alms to an ascetic is always an unsafe act; although the giver ultimately obtains merit (*punya*) by presenting food to the ascetic, he also acquires sin (*pap*) due to the preparation of the food which involves the harming of ingredients and use of fire. The taker is not safe from obtaining sin, since he/she also ends up consuming the food which was prepared with sin. In order to avoid acquiring more sin, the ascetic wanders from house to house, not going to the same household consecutively, nor receiving food that is expressly prepared for the ascetics' consumption. Also, after receiving the alms, the ascetics mix the alms together and consume them as a group, thus distributing the pre-existing sin among themselves.

The giver also endeavors to lessen the sin she/he produces in the process, by following the strict rules of preparation and giving without ill-fated thoughts. For ill-

borne worship will only lead to sin.<sup>58</sup> For example, when results are favored over the motives, giving itself can produce dangerous outcomes. What could have been the dangerous outcomes of temple building, i.e. “giving” to Shatrunjaya? Motishah’s biography describes the tragic events following his patronage. According to Ramji Salat, the chief architect (*sutradhar*) of Motishah Tunk, Motishah’s disregard for auspicious dates led to his (and his wife’s) premature deaths before the consecration.<sup>59</sup> Other inauspicious omens, such as the robbery of the ceremonial burials after the groundbreaking ceremonies, “foretold” the results of his dangerous givings. Kapadia suggests that Motishah and his wife passed away in order to personally invite the gods to the consecration ceremonies;<sup>60</sup> however, the subsequent failure of his son’s business and loss of prestige hints at the drastic results of iniquitous *dana*.

The fact that Motishah and his wife’s death were explained as pious acts in his biography points to the author’s concern about the meaning of Motishah’s patronage. Concern for the meaning of Motishah’s acts indicates that his patronage was significantly oriented toward non-pious motives. Problems of Motishah’s patronage were not the lack of generosity or grandeur, but rather, the excess of it. The unspoken understanding of Motishah’s biography is that his extravagant patronage most likely stemmed from a desire for material gains. Due to these ulterior motives, Motishah’s patronage did not generate an enduring meaning, in spite of the efforts of the biography’s author. Like the Jain ascetic who is not supposed to accept food prepared exclusively for his consumption,

---

<sup>58</sup> Cort, 2001a, 91, 110.

<sup>59</sup> Kapadia, 1991, 106.

<sup>60</sup> Kapadia, 1991, 174.

in a way, Shatrunjaya did not fully accept the overtly enthusiastic worship of Motishah.<sup>61</sup> Motishah's patronage represents the last stage of large-scale construction at Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in which new temples forcefully advertising the patrons' piety were built. This indicates that the understanding of patronage at Shatrunjaya shifted by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century from a celebration of the (material) reciprocal aspect of patronage to a suppression of this very aspect.

Although Motishah's biography is the only written source which confirms the change in the pattern of patronage, it is possible to presume that the suppression of merit-earning was permanent. Following Motishah's Tunk, the next (and last) *tunk* to be built on Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk, which was built in 1862 with similarly ill-fated consequences.<sup>62</sup> After Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk, there were no more *tunks* built by personal donors; the only new *tunk* was built in 1976 under the supervision of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.<sup>63</sup> The will of the donor was no longer central to patronage; all donations were collected and distributed by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi as necessary. By 1880, when the constitution of the Pedhi was established, the Pedhi had effectively taken over the role of the patron, managing any constructions or renovations in spite of the many implicit benefits for patrons who would

---

<sup>61</sup> Even now, most pilgrims to Shatrunjaya do not visit the new *tunks* built during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; most of them only worship at the Main Adishvara Temple on the southern summit.

<sup>62</sup> The building of Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk (1862) at Shatrunjaya can be another example of "perilous patronage." According to Muni Nyayavijaya, many believed that numerous deaths were caused by the fact that the *pratishtha* was not performed at an auspicious time. This was popularly known as "the *kher* (divine curse) of Kesavji Nayak." Nyayavijaya, 1949, 90. While the Nandishvara-dvipa Temple within the Ujambai Tunk was consecrated in 1840, the *tunk* itself was built in 1837, the same year as the Motishah Tunk.

<sup>63</sup> The Nutan Jinalaya—the only new *tunk* commissioned by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi and consecrated in 1976—was built to accommodate the overflowing images that had been deposited within the courtyard of the Main Adishvara Temple.

build at Shatrunjaya. But the informal credit market and the creditworthiness of merchants was still significant to the Jain patrons of western India during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, so the absence of further individual patronage is peculiar. Thus the cessation of patronage and repression of the materiality at Shatrunjaya indicates a new understanding of the site, in which Shatrunjaya's sanctity as a representative Jain site became much more important than the material reciprocity for individual patrons.

### Historiography and Patronage at Shatrunjaya

Why did “sanctity” become such an issue during the 19<sup>th</sup> century? What propelled the Jains to mobilize their collective powers (through the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi) in order to prevent Shatrunjaya from becoming a site for ostentatious display of one’s own merit? The Jains’ reaction against the Western understanding of the site may offer a partial answer to this question. As discussed in the previous chapter, the rise of Western writings on Shatrunjaya was almost contemporary with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century patronage at the site, and in a way formed the future discourse on the site. These included travelogues of British officials and translations of Jain literature such as the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*.<sup>64</sup> Compared to earlier Jain literature, in which the focus is on “how” the patron or miracle-worker gets to see Shatrunjaya, rather than the actual act of seeing, 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western writings focused on the real physical features of the site, as well as its surrounding historical and social conditions. The writings of James Tod and Alexander Kinloch Forbes suggested that the site was not as inapproachable as imagined and led to a

---

<sup>64</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, James Tod, Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Albrecht Weber, and James Burgess are the most famous Western authors who have written about Shatrunjaya. Tod, 1971; Forbes, 1878; Weber, 1858; Burgess, 1976.

unintentional devaluation of Shatrunjaya itself. This approach was further emphasized by James Burgess, whose book on Shatrunjaya remains the authoritative work on the site.

The Jains of western India were most likely aware of these writings on Shatrunjaya. They were also clearly aware of the Western misunderstandings of their faith and their sacred site.<sup>65</sup> According to a case filed in the Calcutta High Court in 1867, Jainism was still not recognized as an independent religion but rather, a heretic sect of Buddhism.<sup>66</sup> Scholarly disputes were ended only by Hermann Jacobi's assertion in 1879 that Jainism was indeed a separate religion, and on basis of his arguments, the court decision was finally overturned in favor of "Jainism as a separate religion" in 1882.<sup>67</sup> Jainism was undergoing a process of formation in the Western disciplines of religion and history. The Jains, especially the wealthy merchants of Ahmedabad and Bombay—who had the most contact with the West as their colonial overlords, competitors in trade, and clients for finances—were faced with a crisis of self-identity. Reacting against Western writings, the process of self-identification was accelerated by the series of legal cases on the ownership of Shatrunjaya, which began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued up to 1926. This series of legal cases will be examined in the final chapter; however, the most significant result of the legal cases was the rise of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi as the foremost representative of Jains in western India. Not only during these legal cases, but also within the management of Shatrunjaya, the Pedhi replaced the individual patron and expanded its role. From merely managing the site, the Pedhi aimed to provide

---

<sup>65</sup> Tod, among other miscellaneous mistakes, confuses Jainism and Buddhism, a prevalent misunderstanding among Westerners during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Tod, 1971: 281.

<sup>66</sup> Peter Fluegel, "Jainism and the Western World: Jinmuktisuri and Georg Buhler and Other Early Encounters," in *Jain Journal* 34, no. 1 (1999): 1.

<sup>67</sup> Cort, 1990a, 52.

Shatrunjaya with the required legitimacy, accompanied by a certain amount of religious “purification.” One of the processes of purification was limiting patronage of temples at the site as a way of restoring the sanctity of Shatrunjaya. No longer was Shatrunjaya a producer of secular merits with sparkling new temples, but rather, it was managed to look as it did in the imagined “original” state: an ancient and sacred Jain site. Shatrunjaya was changed, conforming to the definition of Shatrunjaya by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.

There are no written documents of the Pedhi or its members that demonstrate how the meanings of Shatrunjaya or patronage at the site was regulated. However, the change within the patterns of patronage displays the changes in attitude. Commissioned by the Jain merchants of Ahmedabad and Bombay, the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century and 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya emphasized a reciprocal aspect of religious patronage. As we see in the example of Motishah’s patronage, this phase of concentrated building at Shatrunjaya reflects the life of the early-19<sup>th</sup>-century Jain merchant, whose “inner” religious life was intricately woven with his “outer” secular life through the institutions of religious merit, honor, and patronage. However, by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with the rise of Western writings undermining the sanctity of Shatrunjaya, it was no longer desirable to link Shatrunjaya with any facets of one’s secular and/or material life. In addition, the legal cases surrounding the ownership of Shatrunjaya compelled the Jain patrons to present the site as their holiest site. If Shatrunjaya was to be represented as the most sacred site for Jains, especially in the terms of Western disciplines such as history or religion, it was not advantageous for the temples to be representations of the material desires of the patron. Shatrunjaya was figuratively transferred to a safe location, in which

the desires of the patrons could be managed competently. This process reflects the modern, Western definition of the “sacred” appropriating the South Asian paradigm of the sacred, in which religion was not separate but one way of life, encompassing contradictory and conflicting values. Seeking a “true” Jainism and a truly sacred site led to the disruption of the religious practices of the patrons. This purification of practices led to a purification of architecture, which is the topic of the next chapter.

## Chapter 4. The Architecture of Shatrunjaya

*My favorite temple at Shatrunjaya is the Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, a small temple located on the northern summit. (Figure 4-1: Nandishvara-dvipa Temple) Built by Ujambai, it is the main temple of the only tunk on Shatrunjaya that was commissioned by a woman. According to popular belief, Ujambai asked her father, Hemabhai Vakhatchand—Nagarsheth, or “leader of the city” of Ahmedabad during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and great-great-grandson of Shantidas Jhaveri—to build a temple at Shatrunjaya instead of paying for her dowry.<sup>1</sup> Placed within a tunk that is smaller than most other 19<sup>th</sup>-century tunks, the temple has a square sanctum, wrapped around with a circumambulation path created by stone screens. The temple itself depicts the Nandishvara-dvipa, a mythical continent in Jain cosmography. Nandishvara-dvipa is believed to be a land of delight, a land which the gods visit to worship the Tirthankaras.<sup>2</sup> As depicted in Jain cosmographical literature, the temple houses 52 small shrines—each with four Tirthankaras facing the four directions—surrounding the central shrine, a representation of Mount Meru. (Figure 4-2: View of the shrine) It is the only main temple of a tunk that does not have a towering superstructure (shikhara), instead topped with 5 small domes. Another fascinating feature of the temple is its pierced stone screens (jalis) filled with stained glass, which surround the circumambulation path. From outside, the screens do not seem different from the exterior of other temples. (Figure 4-3: Screens from*

<sup>1</sup> Although Ujambai is identified as the patron in the inscriptions of the temple and popular belief, several contemporary sources, including James Fergusson, state that the main patron was the Nagar Sheth of Ahmedabad, i.e. either Ujambai’s father Hemabhai Vakhatchand, or nephew, Premabhai Hemabhai. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II, (London: John Murray, 1876; reprint, 1910): 29.

<sup>2</sup> Shah, 1987, 22.

*outside) However, once inside the temple, the worshiper is met with a dazzling mixture of colors, radiating from the thousands of different pieces of stained glass fragments embedded within the stone. (Figure 4-4: Screens from inside)*

*This is the only temple on Shatrunjaya which has the unusual layout of 52 shrines, a domed superstructure, and stained glass screens. Also, within the walls surrounding the Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, instead of the usual subsidiary shrines around the main temple (devakulikas), there are three balconies that look out towards the valley temples and the Main Adishvara Temple on the opposite southern summit. (Figure 4-5: Balconies of Ujambai Tunk) Was the extraordinary layout due to the patron's wish? Were the architectural features such as the stained glass windows and domes also specifically requested by the patron? If so, then what did these architectural forms mean to the patron?*

### Architecture and Identity

This chapter explores these questions on architectural forms: how are the meanings of architectural forms produced, and how are they sustained? If the previous chapter focused on the meanings of temple-building, or the act of patronage, this chapter concentrates on the meanings of the architectural forms, or forms of the actual remaining buildings. It explores whether individual architectural features or a combination of architectural features within the temples represent an identity, i.e. a certain aspect of the patron, and if this is true, how the meanings of these features are challenged and modified, according to the patron, the architect, and the viewer.

According to AlSayyad, a struggle for identity is visually represented in the struggle

to find meanings in forms, and the architecture of a nation symbolizes national identity as observed by an individual or group at a specific moment in time.<sup>3</sup> This is most obvious at times of changes, when we get to see the “true and balanced identification of the forces of change and the nature of the struggle to achieve it.”<sup>4</sup> The late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya have the advantage of being built precisely when the historiography and patronage of the site indicated changes and struggles. This period presented a new challenge to the Jains as they were confronted with a new, foreign perspective on their own religion reflected in Western histories and studies of Jainism. The new temples at Shatrunjaya display an understanding and appropriation of traditional architectural elements of the past. But rather than following a rigid formula or architectural tradition, the architecture of these 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples is focused on providing the most effective experience to the worshiper, and as a result, incorporated various elements that contributed to this goal. However, by the late -19<sup>th</sup> century, a new standard for temple building seems to have been enforced by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi. The standard was based on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>-century Jain temples of western India, which became the “canonical” examples of Jain architecture. In order to understand why these architectural forms were (and still are) preferred above those of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya, we need to examine the historiography of Jain architecture at the site, especially how they were viewed by Jains as well as others.

---

<sup>3</sup> Nezar AlSayyad, *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, (Aldershot; Brookfield: Avebury, 1992): 20.

<sup>4</sup> AlSayyad, 1992, 24.

## Historiography of Architecture at Shatrunjaya

How were temples at Shatrunjaya understood before the 19<sup>th</sup> century? While Shatrunjaya is not discussed directly, numerous examples of architectural manuals (*shastras*) from the eleventh century onwards discuss Jain architecture in detail. These include the *Vastushastra* of Vishvakarma (c. late 11<sup>th</sup> century), which describes for the first time a shrine for a four-faced Tirthankara image (*chaturvimshati-jinalaya*), a common form in Shatrunjaya. Other examples include the *Vastuvividya* of Vishvakarma (c. early 12<sup>th</sup> century), discussing a 52-shrine plan (*bavanna-jinalaya*), or the *Aparajitaprccha* of Bhuvanadeva (c. third quarter of 12<sup>th</sup> century), which provides more details such as the proportions of shrines.<sup>5</sup> However, M.A. Dhaky acknowledges that while these writings, as well as literary works, give the component parts of a Jain building, they do not offer information on the historical development or aesthetic qualities of Jain temples. In addition, the various Jain sources discussed in the Historiography chapter do not describe details of the architecture at Shatrunjaya, apart from set phrases of paradisiacal beauty or sanctity. This abstract approach to the temples is not peculiar to the Jain writers, since the temples are recognized as edifices of their faith, rather than a physical structure or a product of its surrounding history.

The actual buildings of Shatrunjaya are first discussed in detail by James Tod. The temples are described as fairly new, with somewhat unfavorable comparisons to the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Jain temples at Mount Abu. He also offers a reason for this “bad taste” as the proximity to the “Franks,” by which he meant the Portuguese churches and secular

---

<sup>5</sup> Dhaky, 1975, 330 – 334.

architecture in Diu.<sup>6</sup> However, compared to Tod's concrete assessment, a few years later another Western writer Alexander Kinloch Forbes focused on the "romantic" experience of the site, rather similar to the spirit of a Jain pilgrim (minus the religiosity):

"Shutroonjye indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of eastern romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fay hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fay voices haunt the air in these voluptuous praises of the Devs."<sup>7</sup>

While these writings simply introduce the architecture, James Burgess' was able to set the standard for the architectural discourses on the temples at the site due to his expertise in the architectural history of South Asia.<sup>8</sup> No doubt this notion was enhanced by the status of *The Temples* as the only publication devoted to the site of Shatrunjaya and its architecture. Following the pattern of other 19<sup>th</sup>-century architectural historians, Burgess discusses the religion of Jainism, the history of the site, and the Main Adishvara Temple, which is the oldest temple on the site. However, unlike his writings on other sites, which describe only older monuments, he also discusses the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya in detail, too. This new interest in contemporary temple architecture does appear peculiar compared to other writings of Burgess, and a couple of reasons may be suggested. First, the sheer number and large sizes of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at

---

<sup>6</sup> Tod, 1971, 286.

<sup>7</sup> Forbes, 1878, 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> Although Burgess went to India as professor of mathematics, he soon became head of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, Bombay, and began architectural and archaeological studies after 1861. According to S.J. Vernoit, his following posts included secretary of the Bombay Geographical Society (1868-73), founder and editor of the journal *Indian Antiquary* (1872-84), Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western India and Southern India and Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1886-1889). Vernoit, 2006.

Shatrunjaya—comparable, in size, if not in aesthetic qualities, to the Main Adishvara Temple—would have made it imperative to discuss them in detail. He could have been also influenced by the writings of James Fergusson, who is quoted praising the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples and their builders at Shatrunjaya. His praise was based on their adherence to the building practices and forms of older, ancient architecture, which in Fergusson's mind proved that the temples were architecturally worthy of mention.<sup>9</sup> One more reason could be the more intimate knowledge and interaction between the Jain patrons of these temples and the British during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While in most cases the British discouraged any interference in indigenous religious affairs (especially after the Great Uprising in 1857), the legal cases concerning the ownership of Shatrunjaya had been widely publicized among the British officials at the time of *Temples'* publication. This may have led to an interest in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples, which were repeatedly brought up during the disputes.<sup>10</sup>

Post-Independence art or architectural histories do not discuss the site in detail. For example, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) did not produce detailed surveys or records of Shatrunjaya after its initial survey, in spite of Shatrunjaya's alleged antiquity.<sup>11</sup> It does not manage nor protect Shatrunjaya currently, since the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi has sole custody of the management. It is well known that the Pedhi has opposed

<sup>9</sup> Fergusson describes Satrunjaya as the following: "It is now being covered with new temples and shrines which rival the old buildings not only in splendor, but in the beauty and delicacy of their details, and altogether form one of the most remarkable groups to be found anywhere—the more remarkable, if we consider that the bulk of them were erected within the limits of the present century... It is by watching the methods still followed in designing buildings in that remote locality that we become aware how it is that the uncultivated Hindu can rise in architecture to a degree of originality and perfection which has not been attained in Europe since the middle ages." Quoted in Burgess, 1976, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Burgess, 1976, 14-15.

<sup>11</sup> Burgess and Cousens, 1897.

the ASI's involvement on the basis that Shatrunjaya is a "living" site.<sup>12</sup> As a result, most modern publications on the architecture of Shatrunjaya have been limited to either broader surveys of South Asian architecture, in which Shatrunjaya does not garner much interest, or a few architectural theses, which focus largely on philosophical approaches to Shatrunjaya.<sup>13</sup> More common are writings of a religious nature, which focus on praise of the spirituality of patrons or the beauty of the temples graced by the presence of deities.<sup>14</sup> Some of these are guidebooks, or small booklets that cover major Jain sites including Shatrunjaya.<sup>15</sup> However, these examples also mostly focus on the older buildings at Shatrunjaya. The reason for this limited coverage of the site is usually considered to be the low quality of workmanship and lack of creativity in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples, which form more than half of the currently remaining temples. This notion equates 19<sup>th</sup>-century architecture with "decline" or "decadence," and unfortunately has been repeated in most architectural histories of South Asia.<sup>16</sup> Thus we can argue that there have been no major

---

<sup>12</sup> Cort, 2000, 115. As Cort mentions, the relationship of the ASI to active sites of worship is complicated. The fact that other active sites of worship (such as Khajuraho or Chittor) are protected by the ASI, but Shatrunjaya is not, reflects the sense that either 1) the management of Shatrunjaya is exceptionally influential, or 2) the ASI does not deem Shatrunjaya worthy of protection because the majority of temples were built or rebuilt within the past two hundred years.

<sup>13</sup> For example, Vinod Makhesana, "Geometric Formalism and Nature of the Land: Study of Satrunjayagiri, Jain Tirtha," 1991, or Jaydeep Bhagat, "Generic Order: An Insight into Creation: Study of the Temple Place at Shatrunjaya Hill, Palitana and the House Source," 1996. These are both MA theses from the School of Architecture, Ahmedabad.

<sup>14</sup> The architectural references in such Jain literature mostly focus on the grandness or beauty of the temple, with occasional exceptions such as the fact that the Vimalnath Temple in the valley is the only temple on the hill with 5 superstructures (*shikharas*). Nyayvijaya, 1949.

<sup>15</sup> M.A. Dhaky, *Tirthadiraja Shri Shatrunjaya*, in Gujarati, (Ahmedabad: Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, 1975).

<sup>16</sup> For example, Dhaky argues that the apex of Jain architecture was achieved by the twelfth and thirteenth century. M. A. Dhaky, 1975, 328. This sentiment is repeated in several other architectural histories, including Harihar Singh, *Jain Temples of Western India*, (Varanasi: Parshvanath Vidyasharam Research Institute, 1982), which only discusses the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya.

publications on the architecture of the site since James Burgess' *The Temples*.<sup>17</sup> Was the architecture of Shatrunjaya really that unworthy of any further discussion? If not, what were the reasons for this persistent silence among scholars, as well as Jains?

### Ambiguous Location: Problems in the Architectural History of 19<sup>th</sup>-century India

The general lack of interest in the later temples at Shatrunjaya, or other indigenously sponsored “traditional” or religious architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is characteristic of South Asian architectural history.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Western or “modern” architecture of the Raj, the British colonial rule of India (1858-1947), has been studied extensively, with much scholarship focusing on either the architectural history of the period or on specific monuments. For example, Philips Davies and Christopher London have discussed the development of British architecture in India during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, while palaces commissioned by the Native Princes (but planned and built by Westerners in classical or Indo-Saracenic styles, thus not “traditional”) also have been examined in a few publications. Also, Robert Irving has discussed the epitome of Raj architecture, the Viceroy’s House in New Delhi (now the

<sup>17</sup> Otherwise, Dhaky has a forthcoming book on the site, which has no set publication date as yet.

<sup>18</sup> A few exceptions of these include the recent studies of Catherine B. Asher on the urban Jain temples of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as her studies on the architecture of the Mughal successor states. Catherine B. Asher, "The Architecture of Murshidabad: Regional Revival and Islamic Continuity," in *Islam and Indian Regions*, edited by Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallement, (Stuttgart: Franz Seiner Verlag, ): 61-74; "Hidden Gold: Jain Temples of Delhi and Jaipur and Their Urban Context," in *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, edited by Olle Qvarnström and Padmanabh S. Jaini, (Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 2003): 359-78; "The Later Mughals and Mughal Successor States: Architecture in Oudh, Murshidabad and Rampur," in *Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India*, edited by C.W. London, (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994): 85-98; "Mapping Hindu-Muslim Identities through the Architecture of Shahjahanabad and Jaipur," in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, edited by David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000): 121-48; "North India's Urban Landscape: The Place of the Jain Temple," *Islamic Culture* LXXIII, no. 3 (1999): 109-50.

Rashtrapati Bhavan, the residence of the President), and its surrounding structures by Sir Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker.<sup>19</sup> While these studies are notable for their contributions to the history of South Asian architecture and art, a few issues arise when reviewing these sources. Firstly, although most of these books make clear that the scope of investigation is limited to European or “European-style” buildings, the absence of any suggestions of indigenous architecture during the same period, or of a continuation of traditional patronage creates a false impression: an impression that “there was nothing else.” Other introductory books on South Asian art and architecture create a similar notion of disruption, that “traditional” or “authentic” South Asian art is concluded with the establishment of the Raj, and a new “modern” or “Western” art is born.<sup>20</sup> However, a review of 19<sup>th</sup>-century contemporary histories and records do not corroborate this notion. On the contrary, thousands of traditional residences and religious structures of various types and styles were constructed by the ruling class (the princes), elites, and merchants during this period, showing a clear continuation of indigenous architectural patronage.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660 to 1947* (London: Murray, 1985); Christopher W. London ed., *Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India*, (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994); B. Tandan, "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh, 1722-1856," in *Facets of Indian Art*, edited by R. Skelton, (London: The Museum, 1986): 66-75; Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>20</sup> Vidya Dehejia, the author of *Indian Art*, one of the most widely used textbooks for Indian art history, ends the discussion of “traditional” India with Chapter 14 “Palaces and Pavilions: Rajput Mewar,” which discusses the palaces and paintings of the Rajput princes up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. She continues with “Rome of the Tropics: Churches of Portuguese Goa,” “Jewels in the Crown: Art in the British Raj,” and concludes the book with an epilogue on art and modernity in India. Apart from the epilogue, where “modern” Indian artists and architects are discussed, there are no further mentions of any indigenous patronage or architecture. Vidya Dehejia, *Indian Art*, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> Examples of studies in non-royal patronage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century include Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta : modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny*, (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), and Monolina Bhattacharya, "Locating Identities: Residential

The indifference towards indigenous architecture and patronage of the 19<sup>th</sup> century grew from colonial studies of South Asian art and architecture, in which the past is invariably preferred over the present. The past was characterized by the ancient art of South Asia, “the imperishable records in the rocks, or on sculptures and carvings, which necessarily represented at the time the faith and feelings of those who executed them, and which retain their original impress to this day.”<sup>22</sup> The “ancient art” of India was considered to be a reliable way to acquire correct knowledge of India’s history and “immeasurably more to be trusted than the pens of her [India’s] authors.”<sup>23</sup> According to Cohn, this knowledge of history was “seen as the most valuable form of knowledge on which to build the colonial state.”<sup>24</sup> Not only was this knowledge used to govern the colony, but also it was used to emphasize the superiority of the colonizers, who had the ability to recognize the significance and collect these forms of knowledge. By collecting and categorizing the forms of knowledge, in this case data about the various architectural structures of pre-colonial India, the British were able to assert their capacities as rulers in comparison to former/current indigenous rulers who did not understand the value of “knowing.”

As a result, Western art and architectural reports and histories written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century all focus on the “antiquities” of each town or region, ending with the architecture of the Mughals and (in rare occasions) their successor states. This way, by not discussing, and thus implying the present as deplorable, the colonial rulers could legitimize their rule

---

Architecture of the Bengali Elite in Calcutta, Mid-Eighteenth to Late-Nineteenth Century,” PhD, University of Minnesota, 2002.

<sup>22</sup> Fergusson, 1876, x.

<sup>23</sup> Fergusson, 1876, x.

<sup>24</sup> Cohn, 1996, 5.

over the appalling current state in India. On rare occasions, when contemporary religious architecture is mentioned, a brief introduction of the structure and its patron is the entirety, in contrast to the detailed descriptions, translations of inscriptions, aesthetic analyses and evaluations of the older structures.<sup>25</sup> The omission of 19<sup>th</sup>-century indigenously sponsored “traditional” architecture created a powerful dichotomy within most former South Asian architectural histories, in which architecture had to be classified as either “authentic” Indian, or Western. Within this paradigm, the authentic or timeless/traditional architecture was the architecture of the past, and only possible to be “discovered” by the colonizers with the advanced knowledge and interest in indigenous cultures and ability to categorize and analyze such architectural elements. On the other hand, modern architecture could only be successful in the West because India, in the eyes of the colonizers, lacked the certain modernity of the Western civilized world. Within this dichotomy, Westernized architecture of India, if attempted, could never be a true enlightened form of architecture but only a debased, imitative form of Western architecture. Thus when Westernized indigenous structures were mentioned, they were discussed as examples of failed experiments of indigenous patrons.<sup>26</sup> According to Chatopadhyay, anything produced by the indigenous people which displayed hybridity,

<sup>25</sup> For example, two “modern” buildings are discussed in Theodore C. Hope, Thomas Biggs, James Fergusson, *Architecture at Ahmedabad, the Capital of Coozerat*, (London: J. Murray, 1866): 94. They mention that “the temple of Huttising (Plates 119 and 120) [to be discussed later in this chapter], is finished, and comparing its details with those of Aboo, or those of Chandrawuttee, as shown in the woodcut on the opposite page, we see at a glace that the style is the same in its general features, but having lost much of its purity though nothing of its richness.”

<sup>26</sup> A notion continued even up to recent times condemns them as “[the] result of orgiastic shopping sprees in the bargain basement of architecture.” Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad and Virginia Fass, *The Palaces of India* (New York; Paris; Lausanne: The Vendome Press, 1980) 15. It is interesting that this is mentioned by a descendant of a former “Native Prince,” the Maharaja of Baroda, one of the princely states which ruled regions of Gujarat and Maharashtra, and overlooked the kingdoms of Bhavnagar and Palitana.

or deviated from a traditional repertoire, was considered Westernized, “a paradox that ‘westerners’ do not confront as consumers of a world culture.”<sup>27</sup> Within this dichotomy, the temples at Shatrunjaya, if they were to be praised, had to be praised as “traditional,” i.e. “equal, or nearly so, to the average examples of earlier ages.”<sup>28</sup>

But, are the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya truly “equal” (or similar enough to be regarded as equal) to the earlier Jain temples? The following sections of this chapter demonstrate that the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya are, not surprisingly, quite different from earlier Jain temples in their plans and details. 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western authors themselves, in spite of their praise, admit that the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples are not indistinguishable from earlier temples, and make it clear that they are rather inferior compared to their predecessors.<sup>29</sup> Still, Fergusson would rather praise an aesthetically inferior temple built in a traditional style than an outstanding palace built with various architectural elements. Why? It was because this notion ultimately reinforced the dichotomy of Western versus Indian in the architectural history of South Asia.

Between the two sides of the dichotomy, it is no wonder that the “Western” architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century attracted more attention. Western, or colonial architecture in South Asia is the visual manifestation of a point in history where the universal and theological progress towards modernity in India is believed to be started by the “advent” of the British colonizers. By deriding indigenous attempts at Western architecture and

---

<sup>27</sup> Chatopadhyay, 1997, n.p.

<sup>28</sup> “... the largest number and some of the most important were erected within the last seventy years, or within the memory of living men. Fortunately, too, these modern examples by no means disgrace the age in which they are built. Their sculptures are inferior, and some of their details are deficient in meaning and expression; but on the whole, they are equal, or nearly so, to the average examples of earlier ages.” Fergusson, 1876, 27.

<sup>29</sup> Fergusson, 1876, 27.

praising traditionally inclined art and architecture, 19<sup>th</sup>-century authors proved that Indians should adhere to traditional practices, since the colonial rulers were supposed to be the only ones capable of building truly Western (i.e. “modern”) buildings. The continued “preoccupation among recent historians of India to concentrate on the Western component of colonial Indian architecture and planning”<sup>30</sup> is also understandable; the “Western components,” the European elements that are selected, integrated, and evaluated here, are the very signifiers of this universal and theological “progress.”

However, the process of modernization and the creations of this process, i.e. the binary categories of modern/pre-modern or enlightened/not enlightened, are not natural but constructed. The constructed idea of modernization and modernity is inherently Western, based on the notion of the West (Britain) as a monolithic, enlightened, and progressive entity, and the East (India) as unchanging and timeless. The architectural history of India is thus incorporated into a Western discourse, evaluated by Western aesthetics produced through inherently Western historical circumstances (for example, the rise of capitalism as the main force of history), and regularly perpetuated by scholars, both Western and Indian. While efforts have been made to overcome the colonial and/or Orientalist notions of nineteenth-century architecture in India and justify the “hybridity” of these structures,<sup>31</sup> the validity of using these constructed ideas as the main criteria has not been problematized.

Instead of seeing buildings as Western/modern or Indian/traditional, we need “to

---

<sup>30</sup> Chatopadhyay, 1997, n.p.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Giles Tillotson, in a recent article, argues that “[Indo-Saracenic buildings] may be freaks, but they are also a permanent and arresting part of the fabric of the heritage of the country.” Giles H. Tillotson, “Orientalizing the Raj: Indo-Saracenic Fantasies,” *Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India*, ed. Christopher London, (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994): 34.

examine buildings as part of a larger landscape, paying attention to the space of everyday experience in which rhetorical and cultural boundaries are most often transgressed.”<sup>32</sup>

This approach is significant to Shatrunjaya since the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples present a unique challenge due to their ambiguous location. They were built during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period when South Asia was rapidly opened to ideas of modernization, but as religious structures, are representative of the traditional paradigm. Although the temples were praised for being built in an “authentic” style, they are quite different from earlier Jain temples, incorporating architectural forms from various traditions. Thus rather than focusing on how Western/modern or how Indian/traditional the temples of Shatrunjaya are, there is a need to recognize that these boundaries are inadequate. The following section examines how the temples at Shatrunjaya cannot be labeled as one or the other, since the criteria for being “Indian/traditional,” especially “traditional Jain,” proves to be problematic.

### What Does a Traditional Jain Temple Look Like?

Is there an inherently “Jain” architecture? According to Oleg Grabar, when discussing a “religious” art, we need to first understand the limits of the discussion. If we are to assume there is a “Jain” architecture, we need to assume that firstly, Jainism led the growth of certain physical and aesthetic needs of a “Jain” architecture through its faith and “the way of life issued from it and compelled by it.” Secondly, Grabar argues that we have to assume there is no arbitrarily nonsensical formal creation in order to believe that

---

<sup>32</sup> Chattpadhyay, 1997, n.p.

appropriation of visual symbols have any meanings at all.<sup>33</sup> Thus if there is a distinctively Jain architecture, it would be a combination of specific visual components within a meaningful context, caused by a “Jain” way of life, i.e. beliefs, liturgical requirements, or prohibitions. However, rather than forming a separate architectural tradition, Jain architecture has been characterized as closely following the architectural principles and styles of Hindu architecture, with only slight changes in the organization of architectural elements.<sup>34</sup>

Then what does a “traditional Jain temple” look like? With a large number of Jains concentrated in the coastal areas and cities of western India, the majority of Jain temples are found in the present states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. These temples follow the regional style of architecture, known as the Western Indian style, or Maru-Gurjara style. First categorized by M.A. Dhaky, the Western Indian style or Maru-Gurjara style temple is known to have developed and spread throughout these areas during the rule of the Solanki dynasty (941-13<sup>th</sup> century). Regardless of the presiding deity, these temples have common features that can be seen in most South Asian temples: a main sanctum linked to a covered entrance hall by a porch.<sup>35</sup> The main sanctum, which may have one or more central *murtis*, is usually topped with a towering superstructure, while the covered

---

<sup>33</sup> Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987): 99.

<sup>34</sup> For example, “Jainism, all the same, did not create a separate architecture: it rather drew from and always depended on the very vital source, Hindu architecture. Though its constituent elements came from the Brahmanical *vastu* art, (and we must not forget that both Buddhism and Jainism were parts and products of the Hindu civilization), it is largely in the organization and manipulation, just as in the application, and we may add, in the further and fuller development of some of these elements that the Jaina sacred building remains distinguished from its Brahmanical counterpart.” M.A. Dhaky, 1975, 319.

<sup>35</sup> Dhaky, 1975, 323. Although not listed in this dissertation, the vocabulary for these architectural forms are derived from traditional literature, contemporary to the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century, a period when a large number of Jain temples were built in western India. For example, a main sanctum is commonly known as a *mulaprasada*, a covered entrance hall is a *gudhamandapa*, and the porch is known as a *mukhamandapa* or *trika*.

entrance hall has a triangular or domed roof. While these features may be seen in temples of other regions, the use of these architectural elements in a consistent manner unites the Jain temples of western India as a Maru-Gurjara style temple.

M.A. Dhaky also asserts that Jain temples built in the Maru-Gurjara style have three distinctive features: a platform above which the temple and its subsidiary buildings are located, the semi-open colonnaded hall in front of the covered entrance hall, and in later temples, a cloistered corridor formed by the linkage of subsidiary shrines (*devakulikas*), which acts as a barrier to the outside with the rear walls.<sup>36</sup> (Figure 4-6. Plan of a Maru-Gurjara Jain temple, Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat, 1062; Figure 4-7. Interior of Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya) As a result, most Maru-Gurjara Jain temples seem to face inwards, with relatively little ornamentation on the outside walls. (Figure 4-8. Exterior, Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya)

The multiplication of images (vertically, within several levels of the temple, and horizontally) and subsidiary shrines (within the cloistered corridor or as detached structures) strikes one as another conspicuous feature of a Jain temple. This replication of images and shrines has been explained by several factors. According to Julia Hegewald, one reason is the desire to venerate multiple Tirthankaras, instead of emphasizing one central image. Another is the need to represent the celestial assembly (*samavasarana*) in which the Tirthankaras preached to inhabitants of the multiple worlds, or Mount Meru,

---

<sup>36</sup> Dhaky argues that while platforms (*jagatis*) are sometimes seen in temples of other religions, platforms of Jain temples are very simple, with almost no decorations or moldings. (338) Also, Dhaky argues that the semi-open colonnaded hall (*rangamandapa*) is “the greatest single Jaina contribution to Indian architecture,” with the richly carved concentric ceilings and pendentives. (349) Compared to temples of other religions, Dhaky also argues that the cloistered halls with the subsidiary shrines (*bhramantika* or *pattashalika*) are always raised in Jaina temples and form an organic unit with the hall of the main shrine.(357) Dhaky, 1975, 338, 349, 357.

the mythical mountain in the center of the world which touches both the upper and lower worlds.<sup>37</sup> The richness of sculptural ornamentation on the pillars and ceilings is also a distinctive feature of Jain temples, although the wealth of the patrons may have been the reason for the profusion of ornate sculptures.

However, although it is possible to recognize a temple as a Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple by the aforementioned features, none of the architectural forms are exclusively Jain or derived from Jain beliefs. Thus it is difficult to assign meanings to specific architectural plans or forms, i.e. as representative of Jain temples. Rather, the architectural forms are organized within a familiar arrangement (“Maru-Gurjara style”) to represent a “traditional Jain temple.” As a result, the architectural forms, without explicit meanings, were easily appropriated or exchanged with other ones. For example, the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Adinath Temple at Ranakpur, acknowledged as an outstanding example of a Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple, does not follow the previous arrangements. Rather, it has four entrances facing the cardinal directions, forming a four-faced main sanctum (*chaturmukha* or *chaumukh*), with an exceptionally high three-story pillared hall in front of the main entrance. (Figure 4-9. Plan, Adinath Temple, Ranakpur, 1440-1500; Figure 4-10. Main sanctum, Adinath Temple, Ranakpur) Meister and Mason have argued that these architectural forms, with interest in massing and monumental interior space, demonstrate “the adaptability of Maru-Gurjara forms to new requirements.”<sup>38</sup> Also, while the figural

<sup>37</sup> Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Multi-Shrined Complexes: The Ordering of Space in Jaina Temple Architecture," *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001): 82.

<sup>38</sup> Most likely the need to house a four-faced image was the reason for this innovative plan. The Adinath Temple, more popularly known as Dharana Vihara, is the earliest remaining example of a temple with four-faced main sanctums. Darielle Mason and Michael Meister, "(b) Rajasthan and Gujarat, in 11<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup>-century temples," *Grove Dictionary of Art*, [www.grovearts.com](http://www.grovearts.com), accessed October 11, 2006.

sculpture has become awkward and angular, a new attention to non-figural work can be seen, reflecting the innovations brought by Islamic architecture during the preceding centuries. Thus by the late-18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were not one or two specific models for a traditional temple, but rather, a variety of familiar architectural forms that are now loosely organized within the nomenclature of “Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple.”

### Premeditated: Change in the Plans

Then how are the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples different from (or similar to) these traditional Jain temples? In order to answer this question, we need to make comparisons between the earlier and later temples. One more difficulty in identifying the changes in later temples lies in the fact that there are not many *comparable* temples from earlier periods, in spite of the large number of existing temples. Earlier temples, even when the date and patron are known, rarely are preserved in their original state. For example, the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya, which was originally built during the 6<sup>th</sup> century and rebuilt in its current form during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, went through several stages of full-scale rebuildings and major structural additions, in addition to superficial changes on the surface. Another earlier temple on the southern summit, the Kumarpal Temple (1232), underwent renovation in summer 2003, which included demolition of the architectural sculptures and refacing of the façade, rendering comparison of architectural sculptures impossible. (Figure 4-11: Kumarpal Temple renovation)<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> It is possible that renovation was arranged for several reasons, including the deterioration of the original architectural sculptures, or also, in the case of later temples, for replacement of non-*shastric* or lesser quality craftsmanship. While no records are available on the types of renovation, it is highly possible that external renovation was common and not limited to earlier temples. 19<sup>th</sup>-

These continuing renovations suggest that comparisons of earlier and later temples should be conducted with caution. It is reasonable, however, to limit comparisons to the most stable elements of the temples, i.e. the plan, which conceivably could be modified, but most likely would retain its original form. Variants from the most simple form (with just the main sanctum and a covered entrance hall) to the most complex (with 52 surrounding subsidiary shrines) of the Maru-Gurjara style Jain temples are all found at Shatrunjaya. The Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya is an enlarged form of the most simple Maru-Gurjara style temple, with the main sanctum expanded on three sides to provide a circumambulatory path around the main *murti*. The covered entrance hall has three entrances with pillared porticos, but in spite of the size, it is not a more complex plan. (Figure 4-12: Plan of Main Adishvara Temple complex) Most of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya follow a similar plan, in which a tripartite main sanctum is connected with a large covered entrance hall surrounded with three tall, double-storied porticoes (*meghanadamandapa*) on the north, west, and south side of the temple, as can be seen in several temples within the Motishah Tunk (1837). (Figure 4-13: Plan of temples in Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk)

Most scholars have not discussed the differences between the earlier and later temple plans. This disregard was probably caused by the belief that the idiom of Jain temple architecture had already been set by the thirteenth century, implying a certain stagnation in the development of architectural plans. For example, according to Dhaky, when the medieval epoch was at its highest high, the Maru-Gurjara style of architecture was already past its meridian and the decline in terms of figural and floral decorative art had set in; ... so much so that the renaissance which had

---

century temples were not immune to such renovation, as the Shantinath Temple (1848) on the northern summit was undergoing a similar procedure in 2003.

timidly stated in the early fourteenth century at Shatrunjaya and which was fully expressed in the next century under the aegis of Maharana Kumbhakarna [i.e. the Adinath Temple at Ranakpur], could only add a few new interpretations in a small way and some fresh ornamental enrichments (partly under the influence of Islamic art and partly borrowings from the prevailing fashions in wooden architecture), but no major alteration came in the tenets of the structural organization of the basic Jaina temple plan.<sup>40</sup>

However, while the plans of the temples all look similar at first glance, it is also becomes clear that the later temples at Shatrunjaya have three strikingly different features. First, the later temples at Shatrunjaya show much more deliberate planning compared to earlier Jain temples. For example, the Modi Tunk (1786) and Balabhai Tunk (1837), which approximately bracket the beginning and end of intense building at the site, show a clear planning of the temples within the *tunks*. The later temples at Shatrunjaya were all planned within a square or rectangle enclosure, with mostly symmetrical subsidiary temples.(Figure 4-13: Plan of Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk) The size of the main temple, the size of the *devakulikas* forming a cloister surrounding the courtyard, and the overall scale of these new *tunks* do not allow random additions to the *tunk*. By contrast, earlier temples, including the Main Adishvara Temple complex, do not show this type of conscious planning, with the shape of the *tunk* and placement of temples governed by the topography of the site. The older temples on the southern summit seem to be haphazardly placed along the path towards the Main Adishvara Temple, parallel to the ridge of the mountain, compared to later temples which are facing precisely east. When viewing the whole plan of Shatrunjaya, it is clear that none of the *tunks* predating the Modi Tunk had any form of planning.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Dhaky, 1975, 328.

<sup>41</sup> The only pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century *tunk* with a rectangle, planned wall is the Chaumukh Tunk (1618) on the northern summit. The placement of subsidiary temples within the *tunk* indicates that however,

The second difference that we can see in the later architecture at Shatrunjaya is the proliferation of subsidiary temples and shrines within the enclosures. In addition to the *devakulikas* around the *tunks*, almost all of the later *tunks* at Shatrunjaya boast freestanding temples and shrines within the enclosure walls. While clusters of temples are common at most Jain sites, for example, Mount Abu or Girnar (Figure 4-14: Plan of Jain Temples at Mount Abu), the placement of *freestanding* temples and shrines within the *tunks* is especially conspicuous in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya. These surrounding temples were built by either family members, or in case of the Motishah Tunk, the business associates of the main patron.<sup>42</sup> The merchants probably used their familial or business networks to complete their projects of patronage (or vice versa, using these projects to strengthen their ties), sometimes resulting in additions dating much later than the main temple.<sup>43</sup> Additions to existing temples were again not a new phenomenon, with numerous antecedents recorded in inscriptions of earlier temples.<sup>44</sup> However, the

---

the subsidiary temples did not follow any plans. There is a possibility that the wall is a later reconstruction, since a 19<sup>th</sup>-century record of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi states a payment in VS 1898 (1842CE) to fix and maintain a wall behind the Chip Vasi. Although it does not indicate which wall it is, it may be the one wall that the Chip Vasi shares with the Chaumukh Tunk. *Records of the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi*, 1842, n.p. Many thanks to Piush Rana, an MA student at the School of Architecture, Ahmedabad, who pointed out this difference in the planning aspects of the older and newer *tunks*.

<sup>42</sup> For example, the second-largest temple in the Motishah Tunk was built by Hathee Singh, another wealthy business magnate from Ahmedabad, and a close friend/associate of Motishah. The subsidiary temples were built by donors from all regions of Gujarat, which probably reflected the scale of Motishah's business during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>43</sup> The consecration ceremony of the Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk on the northern summit was performed in 1862; however, in the photographs taken for James Burgess' *Temples* (1976), the surrounding *devakulikas* are not present. This indicates additional patronage was continued after the completion of the main temple.

<sup>44</sup> Even during earlier times, subsidiary temples were sometimes added much later than the consecration of the main temple. For example, Dhaky argues that some earlier Jain temples that did not have *devakulikas* were provided with them after the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when building *devakulikas* became common. He cites the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya (originally built 1157) and its *devakulikas* (added 1220 to 1250) as one example. Dhaky, 1975, 360.

architectural detachment of these later temples from the main temple, with their prominent inscriptions placed on each doorway, suggests a desire to publicize the individual identities of the patrons, or rather, the individual merits of the patrons, which could be translated into a reputation of creditworthiness, also enhanced by the reliable social network of each individual.

This detachment of the surrounding temples plays a significant role in the third difference, in which the later *tunks* at Shatrunjaya feel much more open. The exposed sensation one feels within the later *tunks* is mainly due to the openness of the courtyard surrounding the main temple. Compared with the dark interior space of an earlier Jain temple, in which the ceiling of the porch almost touches the roofs of the surrounding cloistered corridors (Vimal Vasahi Temple, Mount Abu, Rajasthan, originally built in 1032 and renovated c. 1300), the courtyard of Motishah Tunk is much larger, i.e. physically separated from the surrounding *devakulikas*. (Figure 4-15: Interior of Vimal Vasi Temple, Mount Abu); (Figure 4-16: Courtyard of Motisah Tunk) It has been argued that the early covered and concealed Jain temple plans resulted from the need for protection against Muslim destruction of religious sites.<sup>45</sup> According to this hypothesis, the relative political stability of the 19<sup>th</sup> century could provide an explanation for the openness of the Motishah Tunk and other later enclosures of Shatrunjaya. It is not, however, an explanation with which I agree.

### Shatrunjaya and the Outside World

<sup>45</sup> K.C. Jain argues that “the subterranean layers of Jaina edifices … are regarded as the temples proper,” and “the image on the ground floor was not installed according to the *shastric* conventions, but was used as a decoy to divert attention from the sacred sanctum underneath.” Kailash Chand Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, 1963): 128.

Rather, the openness of the 19<sup>th</sup> century temples may be explained by an increase in the number of pilgrims and larger congregations.<sup>46</sup> The rise of pilgrimage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been explained by several factors, including the relatively safer transportation under British rule, the withdrawal of Pilgrim Tax (1840), the ease of transportation with the opening of railroads, and the rise of pilgrimage as a status symbol among the middle class.<sup>47</sup> While the safer travel routes provided by the British could have been a significant factor, the withdrawal of Pilgrim Tax did not apply to Shatrunjaya, since it had been under the jurisdiction of the Palitana Thakur (who collected a “protection fee” in place of a pilgrim tax) from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Also, the Ahmedabad-Bombay railway, the first major railroad in Gujarat, was only opened in 1864, well after the period of active patronage at Shatrunjaya.<sup>48</sup> In case of the Jain community, pilgrimage and the sponsorship of pilgrims had always been a symbol of one’s wealth and status, as seen in the extravagant consecration ceremony of Motishah Tunk. Thus we will have to search for other reasons for the rise in active participation in Jain pilgrimage and communal worship at Shatrunjaya.

Jyotindra Jain has argued that while pilgrimage has been an ancient practice, the detailed rituals and methods of pilgrimage at Shatrunjaya only appear during the 19<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> I thank Professor M.A. Dhaky for this suggestion to the changes in the plans.

<sup>47</sup> Kama Maclean argues that in addition to the Withdrawal of the Pilgrim Tax (1840), rail boosted pilgrimage attendance (from the 1880s). Also pilgrimage started to become a status symbol, with more and more wealthy middle class making pilgrimages than princely castes. Colonial interventions such as *ghat* [step] building and improving routes also made the pilgrimage safer, leading to more pilgrims. Kama Maclean, "Making the Colonial State Work for You: The Modern Beginnings of the Ancient Kumbh Mela in Allahabad," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 3 (2003): 873-905.

<sup>48</sup> Kenneth Gillion, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Urban History*, (Ahmedabad; Berkeley; Los Angeles: New Order Book; University of California Press, 1968): 69. The first railway in Gujarat was a short line, linking Dholera with the sea in 1850-51, in order to provide access to the port. Gillion, 1968, 98.

century.<sup>49</sup> This indicates a rise in the significance and meanings of pilgrimage. Most likely, the rise in public religious activities was stimulated by changes within the Shvetambara Murtipujak Jain community rather than external changes in the political and social environment. The Jains were going through a process of creating their own religious identity during this period, with the rise of Western understanding and literature on Jainism concurrent with the series of legal cases on the ownership of Shatrunjaya. Participation in pilgrimage to sacred sites was one way to fulfill their duties as a “Jain.” According to Surinder M. Bhardwaj, pilgrimage, as well as communal worship, also creates the needed sense of community as well as fulfilling personal desire.<sup>50</sup> By gathering with fellow worshipers, one can enhance his or her own sense of inclusion in a community. Similarly, the religious rules of pilgrimage (which are much more stringent than those of normal life) provide the participants with a powerful means to distinguish their own community from the Other. Events like communal worship and pilgrimage provide the needed “sense of community.”

This also led to a codification in the pilgrimage routine. According to Jyotindra Jain, the “99 pilgrimages” of Shatrunjaya, an important ritual of present-day pilgrims, was a recent development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jain argues that “the sacred days for pilgrimage, the different ways to climb the hill, the various *pradakshinas* [circumambulations] to be conducted and the 99 *yatras* [pilgrimages] are not mentioned

---

<sup>49</sup> Jain, 1980, 51. According to Jain, “Innumerable later eulogies [and praise] and *Caityaparipatis* [Order of the images, or temples] of Satrunjaya are also available but none contain any reference to the ritual use of the hill. The sacred days for pilgrimage, the different ways to climb the hill, the various *pradakshinas* [circumambulations] to be conducted and the 99 *yatras* [pilgrimages] are not mentioned in any of the earlier literary sources. Only the *Caityaparipatis* roughly describe the paths that were to be followed while conducting a pilgrimage.”

<sup>50</sup> Bhardwaj, 1973, 7.

in any of the earlier literary sources,” and only the paths are vaguely described.<sup>51</sup> While it is said that the 99 *yatras* are based on the 99 visits of Shatrunjaya by Adishvara, most probably the increase of pilgrims and pilgrimage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought about a codification in the pilgrimage routine. The increase of elaborateness in ritual, as well as the rise of the number of pilgrims attending ceremonies and partaking pilgrimage in general, was a possible cause for the wider courtyards and the larger interior halls of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya.

The openness, however, conflicts harshly with the increasingly high and definite walls around individual *tunks* and the whole site. Especially, all of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples are surrounded with a markedly defensive wall, complete with round towers crowned with parapets and merlons carved in relief. (Figure 4-17: View of Motishah Tunk and Ujambai Tunk in background) However, no longer was destruction by military forces a threat to the site by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup> The Jains were also aware of the British power to guarantee the safety of Shatrunjaya, as they clearly indicated in their

---

<sup>51</sup> According to Jain, many Jains take vows to stay in Palitana for 3-4 months and climb the hill 99 times. During this period, the pilgrim should climb Shatrunjaya at least once every day, and circumambulate the Main Adishvara Temple three times after worship within the temple. Jyotindra Jain, 1980, 50-51. Also, he argues “in all matters of Jaina ritual, be it the daily worship in temples, the ceremony of image installation, the chariot festival, the *tirthayatra* [pilgrimage to the sacred place] or any of the householder’s austerities, there has been an overall increase in elaborateness of worship. Over the last few centuries it seems that the custom of pilgrimage on Satrunjaya hill contains ancient Jaina beliefs and practices, but the entire paraphernalia of the rituals that exist today are of much more recent origin.”

<sup>52</sup> It is also interesting to note how Shatrunjaya has never been mentioned related to the Maratha incursions of Gujarat, which left several of the larger cities in decay during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jains and their religious sites may not have been actively destroyed, compared to the cities of Muslim rulers which were frequently sacked. Jains may not have been significantly differentiated from the followers of other Brahmanical religions. For example, James Forbes describes the Jain Chintamani Temple at Ahmedabad as a “Hindoo” temple, which suggests that Jains were not considered as following a different religion. Possibly the capture/destruction of Shatrunjaya was not as symbolic as the capture/destruction of a political center of a Muslim rule such as Ahmedabad (built by Sultan Ahmed Shah), which was according to Forbes, decimated due to the attacks. Forbes and Montalembert, 1834, 193, 199.

petitions to the British governor at Bombay for the rights to Shatrunjaya.<sup>53</sup> If there was no need for protection against physical destruction, what were the reasons for the walls during the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Rather than the need for protection from an actual enemy, it is more likely that the walls were symbolic of a separation between two worlds. But the site itself is located at the top of a hill, already isolated from the secular world, of which the closest was the town of Palitana. Thus the powerful fortification walls indicate much more than simple division of two worlds.

This new interest in fortification at Shatrunjaya was, in a sense, opposite to a common trend of contemporary Indian palace architecture. According to G.H.R. Tillotson, the architecture of the Indian rulers in the Princely States during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was quickly shifting its paradigms, in which the palaces were placed not on rocky outcrops or lakes, but on plains or urban areas with no fortification. Tillotson argues the reduction in warfare among the Princely States, especially with the British controlling their military and diplomatic issues after 1857, led to this change.<sup>54</sup> In contrast to the palaces of the Princely States which were becoming more approachable, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya were built with stronger walls, complete with parapets and towers. The name of the site itself may present additional explanation for the increased fortifications.

*Shatrun (enemy)-Jaya (victory)*, the victory over enemies, represents a victory not over mortal enemies, but a spiritual victory over the enemies of enlightenment. The fort walls can be understood as a representation of the defense that one was to build up against enemies, real or imagined, of spiritual victory. The walls reflected the Jains' anxiety, i.e.

---

<sup>53</sup> Details in Chapter 6.

<sup>54</sup> G.H.R. Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy, and Change since 1850*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): 26.

an anxiety over protection of the site from the outside world and its authorities, which included local rulers and the British, as I will discuss in the sixth chapter.

### Changes in Architectural Elements: Details

The later temples at Shatrunjaya also share common architectural elements which are not regularly seen in earlier traditional Jain architecture. Among these features from other religious and secular architectural traditions of South Asia, three are most outstanding: the abundance of balconies, the use of baluster columns, and the use of non-traditional interior material. These various elements from other architectural traditions proclaimed the power and wealth of the patrons. However, the original meanings of these elements were quickly replaced and therefore lost by the viewers.

The first unusual architectural feature found in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya is the balcony. Compared to earlier Jain temples, which do not have any prominent openings around the main sanctum, later temples and *tunks* such as the Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk main temple and Ujambai Tunk feature prominent balconies on the main temple as well as on the surrounding fort wall. (Figure 4-18: Main Temple upper story, Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk; Figure 4-19: Ujambai Tunk balcony). Most famous examples of balconies belong to the Mughal architecture of northern India, in which the ruler presented the view of himself to his subjects on a *jharoka*, or a projecting balcony/window for viewing. (Figure 4-20: Darshan-i Jharoka, Fatehpur Sikri, 1571-85). The viewing of the Mughal emperor was comparable to the act of receiving daily *darshan* (beholding) of Hindu deities. The *jharokas*, built with white marble and gilded, suggested the divinity of the ruler by associating him with a deity, while maintaining connections

with his subjects.

Balconies themselves are not unknown in earlier Jain architecture, with examples in the temples at Ranakpur and Taranga and the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya. (Figure 4-21: Balcony on second level, Ajitnatha Temple, Taranga; Figure 4-22: Balcony on Main Adishvara Temple, Shatrunjaya) However, compared to the balconies of the Main Adishvara Temple (Shatrunjaya) and Taranga Temple (blocked by a stone screen and not accessible) or the balcony of the Ranakpur Temple (which is part of the open double-storied portico), the prominence, size, and accessibility of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century balconies at Shatrunjaya suggest they had a specific function. The balconies probably provided the pilgrim with further opportunities of worship. I.e., after worship of the main image of a temple, the pilgrim can climb the steps to either worship another image (or set of images) on the second level, or go out to the balconies which are accessible through doors on this second level. (Figure 4-23: Second level of the entrance hall, leading to the balconies) Most of the balconies are placed high on the north and south sides of the temple (and sometimes at the back, or west side). The surrounding scenery, including the temples of the other summit and valley, is clearly visible from these upper-level balconies. The views enable the worshiper to have *darshan* of the Main Adishvara Temple, for example, from the location of the balconies at the Ujambai Tunk. (Figure 4-24: View from Ujambai Tunk balconies towards the southern summit with Main Adishvara Temple) Considering the significance of the Main Adishvara Temple, it is possible that in addition to being a decorative detail, the balconies had the function of providing the worshiper with further opportunities for *darshan*. They could have provided an acknowledgement of the spiritual authority of the Main Adishvara Temple,

which was, in spite of the flurry of new constructions, still the center of the pilgrimage itself.

The second feature new to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples is the use of decorative elements such as ornate pear-shaped baluster columns, which are also commonly found in later Mughal architecture. (Figure 4-25: baluster columns at Shatrunjaya). As elements common in later Mughal architecture, baluster columns are not seen on the temples in the Modi Tunk (1789) or earlier, but only after the building of the Sakar Shah Tunk (1836).<sup>55</sup> According to Koch, the baluster column was first used and understood as a symbol of monarchical power during the reign of the fifth Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658). Within this Mughal context, baluster columns were always used in the context of framing the ruler to assert his semi-divine properties.<sup>56</sup> (Figure 4-26: Mughal example of baluster column) However, according to Catherine Asher, as early as the following emperor Aurangzeb's reign "this form [i.e., baluster columns] began to lose its original meaning and became associated instead with Islam and an old social order."<sup>57</sup> We may argue that the meanings at Shatrunjaya were probably not related to any of these Mughal/Islamic meanings. Since the baluster columns on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya are placed rather arbitrarily (for example, around the *devakulikas* but not the

<sup>55</sup> One exception is a balcony on the superstructure (*shikhara*) of the Chaumukh Temple (1618), which is abnormal since out of the nine existing balconies, only one has the baluster columns. This may be due to a later renovation.

<sup>56</sup> Ebba Koch argues that the wide use of the baluster columns in Mughal architecture was due to the interest in European motifs from the prints of Dürer and later artists, which shows further examples of exchanging artistic motifs. She also argues while baluster columns had appeared sporadically in ancient eastern Indian Buddhist and Hindu temples, as well as in wooden forms in Central Asian Timurid architecture, only during the reign of Shah Jahan did they become the dominant architectural columnar form.; "it came to be considered a typical feature of Indian architecture that it was taken over as such to Britain in the first and second Indian Revival." Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning," In *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 38-65.

<sup>57</sup> Asher, 1994, 88.

main sanctum of the Sakar Shah Tunk temples), it is more likely that the meanings of the columns were lost by the time they were embraced by the Jain builders. Without any Jain sources discussing their understanding of Mughal and later Mughal-style architecture, it is not possible to understand the original meanings of balconies or baluster columns in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya. Rather, both these elements at Shatrunjaya were used either as a location to view the deity, or as decorative and functional elements. As well as losing their original meanings, these details were probably used purely as a means to enhance the ornateness of the temples, to augment the experience of the worshiper.

Another common feature that can be seen in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples, as well as the renovated temples at Shatrunjaya, is the widespread use of Western or Western-style luxury items. Stained glass windows, colored marble, and imported tiles, as well as other objects used for worship were commonly imported from Europe during this period.

According to Tod,

the effect of the whole is still further injured by the base taste, probably increased or prompted by the vicinity of the Franks, and visits to some of the Portuguese churches at Deo-puttun (Diu): the fane of Adnat'h being decorated with gilded paintings of heavy Dutch-built figures, and cherubim, consisting of fat faces and gilded wings, similar to the emblems in a country churchyard in England. Add to these, a cluster of English lamps, which illuminate the altar, and that the priests are awakened to matins by the iron tongue of a bell from some Portuguese man-of-war, and which bears the name of its founder, Da Costa, and you have some idea of the incongruities of this sanctified abode.<sup>58</sup>

Most of the portable objects are gone; however, relatively immovable elements such as screens or tiles remain *in situ*. Although these Western objects were simply “incongruities” to Tod, it is clear that the Jains had appropriated them within a familiar

---

<sup>58</sup> Tod, 1971, 286. As late as 1885 when James Burgess was writing his report for the ASI, the temples were decorated with “disreputable looking chandeliers, *batti* glasses, and mirrors that hung about.” Burgess and Cousens, 1897, 273.

context. Stained glass screens appear in the Nandishvara-dvipa Temple in the Ujambai Tunk (1843); while the colored stained glass itself is new, the shapes of the screens are not far from traditional examples that we see at Mount Abu or Taranga (although the extent of renovation at these other sites do make one hesitate in asserting that the screens on these temples are the original screens). (Figure 4-27: Screens of Temple, Mount Abu; 28: Screen of Ajitnath Temple, Taranga) These type of stone screens were not exclusively found in Jain temples; from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, many Islamic monuments also display similar screens, although without the stained glass. (Figure 4-29: Screens of King's Tomb, Sarkhej, Gujarat) Similarly, whereas the imported tiles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century temples at Shatrunjaya may be new, the pattern formed by the tiles, or the way the tiles are used, are not unfamiliar..

#### Reasons for Changes: Knowledge, Wealth, and Context

What were the reasons for incorporating new plans and new details in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya? For one, the Jain patrons' familiarity with these details as symbols of prestige would have been needed. In addition, immense wealth would have been imperative to fund the expenses in building and furnishing the temples. Another reason could be the trend that can be seen in 19<sup>th</sup>-century architecture, especially the luxurious palaces of the princes, or rather, the urban residential architecture of merchants. For example, in Ahmedabad, many suburban bungalows were built around the British encampment during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as rich merchants fled the congested inner city. According to Kenneth Gillion, several houses were built "in the English style, with many

glass windows.”<sup>59</sup> One of the first was built by Hathee Singh Kesarising, (1790-1848), a major Jain merchant of Ahmedabad and one of the business associates of Seth Motishah.<sup>60</sup> Hathee Singh built a large house in a neoclassical style outside the Delhi Gate of Ahmedabad and filled it with Western furniture and Chinese curios.<sup>61</sup> Right next to this bungalow he also built a temple, which was completed after his death in 1848.

(Figure 4-30: Hathee Singh Temple)

The Hathee Singh Temple has to be mentioned in the context of 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya, not only in recognition of the overlapping patronage but also due to the similarities in architectural style.<sup>62</sup> The temple forms a large complex, complete with surrounding *devakulikas* and a victory tower (*kirti stambha*) outside the walls.

(Figure 4-31: Plan of Hathee Singh Temple) While the temple plan itself is relatively simple, consisting of a main sanctum opening to a covered hall with three porches (the central one connects to an elaborate pillared hall), the architectural details leave one astounded, with an amazing mixture of traditional Jain architecture and non-traditional

---

<sup>59</sup> Gillion, 1968, 56-57. Another example of a suburban mansion is the former Sarabhai family residence, which now houses the Calico Museum of Textiles, in northern Ahmedabad.

<sup>60</sup> Hathee Singh also built one subsidiary temple within the Motishah Tunk at Shatrunjaya. In addition, Hathee Singh’s first wife, who had died early during childbirth, was a daughter of Hemabhai Vakhchand, the patron of the main temple within the Hemabhai Tunk and descendant of Shantidas Jhaveri. Hathee Singh’s second wife, Harkunvar, finished the building of the Hathee Singh Temple after his death, while sending pilgrimages to Sammet Shikhara and Shatrunjaya during her lifetime.

<sup>61</sup> Gillion, 1968, 56-57.

<sup>62</sup> The consecration ceremonies of Hathee Singh Temple were as extravagant as those at Shatrunjaya. According to the inscriptions, 400,000 worshipers came to the ceremonies which continued for twenty days. Hariprasad G. Shastri, “Detailed Accounts in the Hutheesing Temple Inscriptions,” in M.A. Dhaky ed., *Hutheesing Heritage: The Jain Temple at Ahmedabad*, (Ahmedabad: Hutheesing Kesarising Trust, 1998): 59-60. In contrast to this extravagance, ostentatious patronage and merit-making was already diminishing at Shatrunjaya by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century due to the changes in viewing the site, as discussed in Chapter 3. It is possible that such patronage was still deemed acceptable in Ahmedabad, since Ahmedabad (as a political center and only founded in 1411) was never bequeathed with a sanctity comparable to that of Shatrunjaya.

elements. (Figure 4-32: Balcony on back of Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad) The numerous balconies, ribbed domes and baluster columns, lavishly inlaid marble floors, and sculpture reminiscent of the wood carvings found in residential architecture (for example, urban residences built with wood, or *havelis*) all display an aesthetic identical to that of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya, with the eclectic use of various elements (Figure 4-33: marble floor of Hathee Singh Temple).

The use of non-traditional plans, eclectic architectural elements or Western objects was not a phenomenon unique to 19<sup>th</sup>-century Jain architecture at Shatrunjaya. Palaces and religious structures built by the rulers of Mughal successor states and native princes also display the result of selecting and appropriating new architectural elements. In the case of palace architecture built by the Indian rulers of the Princely States, Tillotson argues that the palaces in Maratha regions (e.g. Indore, Gwalior, Baroda) were considerably more open to new, Western elements compared to the more conservative Rajput palaces in Rajasthan.<sup>63</sup> This was partially due to a lack of cultural inheritance (i.e. many of the Maratha rulers, as descendants of peasants, could not boast prestigious lineages as those of the Rajput rulers), but it also represented a deliberate policy of active Westernization on the part of the rulers. On the other hand, in the Mughal successor states of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Catherine Asher suggests that religious architecture was built in a more traditional style with features that were originally associated with Mughal royalty, which were now newly associated with piety and Islam.<sup>64</sup> Thus in both cases, the process of appropriation within the context of royal patronage was dictated by the current political or cultural tension among the various surrounding forces.

---

<sup>63</sup> Tillotson, 1989, 27.

<sup>64</sup> Asher, 1994, 88.

The process of appropriation indicates a powerful desire to control the projected identity of the patron: modern and Western to the other/outside, traditional and Indian to the self/inside. However, within these examples of 19<sup>th</sup>-century royal architecture, we can see that the “inside” and “outside” are selected according to the purpose of the building. If Western elements were embraced in structures built mainly for the purpose of entertaining Europeans, religious architecture adhered to traditional forms in order to proclaim its “traditionality.” This indicates an awareness of an audience, mainly the West (i.e. the other) but also the Indians (i.e. the self).

In contrast, the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya represent architecture in which the (other) audience is not as critical as the (self) worshiper. This could have been partially because most of the patrons were merchants, rather than rulers who had a more powerful need to build their own image for an audience. For the Jain patron/worshiper, the experience of sanctity was most important at Shatrunjaya, and anything that could enhance that experience would be accepted. Rather than drawing boundaries between what was suitable or not suitable for a religious building, anything that would contribute to the experience of the worshiper was appropriated, whether it was a Mughal architectural element or Western decorative object. This led to a wonderful amalgamation of the plans, architectural features and details, which is a reflection of the non-existence of boundaries between religious life and secular life during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples of Motishah Tunk, Hemabhai Tunk, Ujambai Tunk represent this moment, the period before the patron’s role was appropriated by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.

### Decisions of Whom? The Role of the Patron

Although Shatrunjaya had been managed by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is clear that until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the selection of main deities, types and styles of temples was not governed by the Pedhi or any other entity. The variety and disparity in the numbers of different Tirthankaras and temples on the site indicate otherwise.<sup>65</sup> According to the biography of Motishah, as well as several inscriptions on the site, the patron determined the main deity of his temple with the aid or recommendation of an ascetic (most likely his personal guru), who would have performed the consecration ceremony at the completion of the temple.<sup>66</sup> However, further details on the involvement of the patron do not exist at all. There is no evidence to prove that Ujambai requested details such as the unique plan, placement of balconies or stained glass on the Nandishvara-dvipa Temple. However, the existence of these features on the temple reflect their acceptance by the patrons, and probably the other worshipers. In a similar manner, although the architectural details discussed in this section are new in one aspect, both the form of the detail and the context in which they are used were familiar, suggesting a conscious appropriation of the new elements on part of the audience/patron.

While Dhaky has discussed the “instructions” for building medieval Jain temples in

---

<sup>65</sup> As a site dedicated to Adishvara, an overwhelming amount of the images are of this particular Tirthankara. However, of the twenty four Tirthankaras, the next most common ones found on Shatrunjaya include Parsvanath (the 23<sup>rd</sup> Tirthankara) and Shantinath (the 16<sup>th</sup> Tirthankara).

<sup>66</sup> According to Kapadia, Motishah’s son invited the head of the Khatar Gaccha (of which he was a member) to perform the consecration ceremonies of Motishah Tunk. Kapadia, 1991, 196.

traditional manuals (i.e., *vastu shastras* and *shilpa shastras*),<sup>67</sup> the actual process of planning and constructing pre-modern temples is not known. It is only possible to deduce the process from contemporary practices. At least within the past century, Sompuras, a caste of non-Jain temple builders originating from Rajasthan, have been commissioned to build or renovate Jain temples.<sup>68</sup> Jain temples currently built in Palitana at the bottom of the hill, including the Nandaprabha Prasad consecrated in January 2003, are mostly built by the descendants of these builders. According to Chandrakant Sompura, classical Jain architecture (especially, the Jain temples built during the Solanki dynasty) is emulated, but no specific text is used as a verbatim manual.<sup>69</sup>

Sompura described the current process of patronage as determined by several factors, including the patron's preference, the limits of the site, the relationship with the town or surroundings, and the cost of building. According to Sompura, the plan of a temple or its architectural details is not dictated by a single factor (e.g. the main deity), but rather, by an amalgamation of several factors including the size of the site and the direction of the temple. In accordance with these limits, the scale of the architectural elements and details are decided, sometimes with the patron requesting specific

---

<sup>67</sup> The *Vastushastra* of Vishvakarma (late 11<sup>th</sup> century) is one “manual” translated by Dhaky. An example of an instruction: according to the *Vastushastra*, one should “construct the entry-hall in front with its projection measured 20 parts.” Dhaky, 1975, 328.

<sup>68</sup> It is not clear when the caste started using “Sompura” as their last name. Motishah’s biography mentions the chief Sompura Ramji Salat, who was brought to Shatrunjaya to build the Motishah Tunk, and the Hathee Singh Temple in Ahmedabad (1848) was built by Premchand Salat; thus at least until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Sompura was not used as the last name.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Chandrakant Sompura. July 15, 2003. Chandrakantbhai’s grandfather, the late P.O. Sompura, was the author of various architectural studies on traditional temples, and according to popular belief, was the grandson of Ramji Salat who built the Motishah Tunk. N.C. Sompura, another author of such manuals, was also a descendent (great-great-great-grandson?) of the architect who built the Chaumukh Tunk on the northern summit.

innovative elements (e.g. steel framework, or glass ceilings).<sup>70</sup> Although it is not possible to confirm that this approach pertained in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Shatrunjaya, with their diverse architectural elements, suggest that the patrons were not adverse to new plans or architectural features.

It is possible that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, religious architecture was still not something that was supposed to be completely “inside,” or separate from the patrons’ everyday “outside” life. The “outside” life of the patron was not that separate from his or her “inside” life. It was not one that needed protection from outside influence, but rather, one that was intricately woven with his outer life, through the institutions of ritual giving and religious merit, i.e. patronage. The 19<sup>th</sup> century Jain community was not solely religion-oriented, but rather a secular community led by those who acknowledged the significance of religion within the community. Within this community, and to the others, public statements of collective identity, i.e. “objects and events, monuments and ceremonies, all contribute meaningful symbols to the production and consolidation of the ‘we.’”<sup>71</sup> This acceptance led to tolerance or even encouragement to incorporate elements of the outer world, such as architectural details or plans. While incorporating forms and features of the past, or the inner, or traditional, the temples also accepted the present, the outer, and modern, a representation of the lives of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Jain patrons.

In the previous chapters, we discussed the reasons why these transgressions

---

<sup>70</sup> Renovation of temples, although not those at Shatrunjaya, has an additional aspect to consider; i.e., the approval of the ASI is mandatory to commence the work. For example, when a patron provided funds for renovation work for the Shamlaji Vishnu temple in Gujarat, the ASI approved it under the condition that they initially renovate only up to five feet from the plinth. After comparing the new sculptures with the original sculptures of the temple, the ASI approved completion of the renovation. Personal interview, Chandrakant Sompura.

<sup>71</sup> Vale, 1992, 9.

between the inner and outer suddenly became more obvious and annoying. One explanation was the rise of Western writings, and the influence of Western disciplines in the way of thinking about one's own religion. As a result, the architecture at Shatrunjaya (and Jain architecture in general) was forced to go through a shift in its paradigms. While there has been no significant discussion on the standards for renovation/construction, the views of the Sompuras and written reports to the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi indicate that at least from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, temples of the twelfth to thirteenth century were used as the ideal examples of Jain temple architecture.<sup>72</sup> Only during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, significant Jain sites in western India such as the Dilwara Temple complex at Mount Abu, the temples at Ranakpur and Girnar, and other sites including Khumbariya and Taranga were renovated extensively, according to a "pure" Jain style. The audience of the site, which included the West, became the impetus for the Jains to return to their imagined original architecture of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the following chapter, we will discuss how the Western writings and the audience produced changes in another history of Shatrunjaya, i.e. the history of the *patas*, or cloth paintings.

---

<sup>72</sup> Batley argues that the standards for renovation of the Ranakpur temple should be the temples at Mount Abu. Claude Batley, "Report on the Present State of and Schedule of the Principal Works Required to Be Executed at the Ranakpur Jain Temples, Jodhpur State," Manuscript, Ahmedabad, n.d.; Claude Batley Gregson and M. Foster King, "Report to Sheth Anandji Kalianji," (Ahmedabad: n.a, 1936).

## **Chapter 5. The Shatrunjaya Patas**

*My second trip to Shatrunjaya included a visit to one of several artists' workshops in Palitana. The workshop produces ready-made and commissioned patas, or cloth paintings, of Shatrunjaya. These Shatrunjaya patas depict the temples on the site, following an earlier Jain tradition of painting pilgrimage sites. The workshop was not too large, with several artists preparing canvases for the oil paintings, or stones for relief sculptures in the courtyard. One side of the wall was covered with a reproduction of a modern Shatrunjaya pata by Vasudeo Smart, a contemporary artist from Surat. Several completed patas were rolled up to one side, and the artist was happy to show us some of the examples. The smaller ones measured about a meter in length and 2 meters in height, with the larger ones almost twice the size. He explained that some were commissioned by wealthy Jains for relatives in Mumbai or the United States. Another huge pata, commissioned for Rs. 20,000, was going to a new Jain temple in Morvi, Gujarat. In addition to the size and quality of material, the number of people depicted in a painting dictated the price. In one moderately priced example, the Main Adishvara Temple on the southern summit was gorgeously decorated with a periwinkle-blue courtyard and salmon pink garlands on the murti (divine image). The images were also covered with gold-painted ornaments, as were decorations on many temples. The paths were generously scattered with pilgrims, some painted wearing Western clothes. (Figure 5-1: Contemporary Shatrunjaya pata from Haribhai Painters, Palitana).*

*A friend, a South Asian art historian who taught at a college in the suburbs of Ahmedabad, had accompanied me and was politely nodding at the paintings and*

*sculptures. The moment we left the workshop, she exclaimed how these contemporary patas were aesthetically incomparable to the pre-modern ones. The material and color schemes were certainly different, but at first glance, the compositions looked quite similar to those of pre-modern Shatrunjaya patas. The Main Adishvara Temple was in the usual upper left-hand corner with additional temples placed on the two summits and valley, and Palitana in the lower right-hand corner. On the other hand, there also were the new “modern” elements, such as the dam across the Shetrungi River, or the clock tower in the town of Palitana. And there was the Samavasaran Temple shaped like a three-tiered wedding cake at the bottom of the hill, completed a few years ago after 14 years of construction. And there also were the newly consecrated temples on the Taleti, the main street of Palitana. Amazingly, most of the new temples at the bottom of the hill were incorporated in these contemporary patas. These modern constructions were depicted not only in commissioned patas, but also in ready-made patas. Maybe the patrons didn’t want to take home an “older” version of the sacred hill, preferring the all-inclusive portrayal of present-day Shatrunjaya. This idea challenged the standard understanding of Shatrunjaya patas, in which older patas are venerated due to their antiquity. For example, one of the oldest-existing patas, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century one currently in the collection of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, is brought out for worship every year on the festival of Paryushan for this very reason. If older patas are worshiped due to their antiquity, why do the newer patas strive to include the contemporary view of Shatrunjaya, rather than simply replicating older patas? The journey into the histories of Shatrunjaya patas begins with questions on this seemingly contradictory notion: what is expected in a Shatrunjaya pata; the past, or the present?*

As paintings of the most important pilgrimage site for Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains, Shatrunjaya *patas* form a distinct category within the tradition of Jain *patas*.<sup>1</sup> Jain *patas* depict several subjects including mystic diagrams (*yantras*), Tirthankaras, cosmic diagrams, and sacred places (*tirthas*). The earliest Jain *patas* mostly depict mystic diagrams and Tirthankaras; however, this dissertation focuses on the cloth paintings of sacred places, or *tirtha patas*, of which the earliest date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of Jain *tirtha patas* were produced in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and of the 21 documented Jain *tirtha patas*, 13 *patas* (or more than half) were produced after the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> By contrast to earlier *tirtha patas*, these later ones reveal stunning changes, presenting interesting questions for the history of South Asian art. Firstly, the subject matter of the *patas* became limited to Shatrunjaya exclusively, leading to the term “Shatrunjaya *pata*”; in contrast, earlier *tirtha patas* depicted Shatrunjaya as only one of multiple pilgrimage sites. Secondly, the size of the *patas* increased considerably. Most examples measure over a meter in height and width, and larger examples amount to 3 meters in height. Thirdly, in the post-18<sup>th</sup> century *patas*, the depiction of Shatrunjaya changed from that of an abstract, formulaic site to one that is clearly distinguishable due to its architectural and

---

<sup>1</sup> This chapter only focuses on Jain paintings. *Patas* depicting Hindu pilgrimage sites are not common, with almost all remaining examples dating from after the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One example is the *picchavais* (cloth hangings) of the Vallabhacharya *Sampradaya*, a Krishna sect founded in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The center of *picchavai* production was Nathdwara, a town 22 miles northwest of Udaipur in Rajasthan, which was also the center of the sect. While most of the *picchavais* focus on Nathji, a form of Krishna, few of these *picchavais* depict the pilgrimage of the area of Vraj, which includes Mathura and Mt. Govardhan. However, unlike Shatrunjaya *patas*, these *tirtha patas* of Vraj were used as temple hangings behind the main image, and none of them predate the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Another example is the *pata chitras* (cloth paintings) of Orissa, which depict the Jagannath Temple at Puri. Kay Talwar and Kalyan Krishna, *Indian Pigment Paintings on Cloth: Historic Textiles of India at the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad*, (Ahmedabad: B.U. Balsari on behalf of Calico Museum of Textiles, 1979): 26-27, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D. List of *tirtha patas* and Shatrunjaya *patas* from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

topographical features. Finally, Palitana, the town adjacent to Shatrunjaya, was depicted in later *patas* as an increasingly significant part of the composition.

*Tirtha patas* and Shatrunjaya *patas* have been discussed, albeit briefly, in art historical or geographical studies. Most of these are general surveys or catalogues, which discuss *patas* as a type of Jain painting or religious map. Thus they focus on the identification and details of individual *patas*, rather than their position within the context of Jain or South Asian paintings or maps. Of the 21 known *tirtha* and Shatrunjaya *patas*, sixteen are published, with nine in the three publications mentioned below. In a catalogue of Jain art, Shridhar Andhare describes three examples of Shatrunjaya *patas*. In addition, he mentions the larger sizes of later *patas*, as well as their functions as objects of worship.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Schwartzberg discusses several *patas* in the context of sacred maps of South Asia, focusing on the cartographical style.<sup>4</sup> Five examples of *tirtha patas* have been introduced by Kay Talwar and Kalyan Krishna in the catalogue for the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad, which is one of the largest depositories of cloth paintings within the South Asian subcontinent.<sup>5</sup>

While these studies introduce the *patas*, the changes that happen in the *tirtha patas* following the 18<sup>th</sup> century have not been discussed in detail by any author. As a result, the context of production and consumption of these *tirtha patas*, which is closely

<sup>3</sup> Figure 43, Catalogue 117b, Figure 47 (details in Figure 45). Shridhar Andhare, "Jain Monumental Painting" in *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, ed. P. Pal, (New York; Los Angeles, Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art: 1994): 77-88.

<sup>4</sup> Items u-x in appendix 17.6. Joseph F. Schwartzberg, "South Asian Cartography," in *The History of Cartography Vol.2 Book 1*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987): 293-509. Another cartographic study that discusses Shatrunjaya *patas* in a similar manner is Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> Plate 86 to 90. Some of these overlap with the *patas* discussed by Schwartzberg. Talwar and Krishna, 1979, 82-90.

linked with the changes themselves, has not been discussed either. This chapter starts with a survey of *patas* in order to provide grounds for comparison between the earlier and later *tirtha patas*. The second section of the chapter focuses on the changes in the style and functions of the Shatrunjaya *patas* during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the reasons for these changes. Focusing on the map-like qualities of the later Shatrunjaya *patas*, the next section briefly examines the history of maps in South Asia as well as the impact of colonially produced maps. Finally, I ask why this particular history of *tirtha patas* has been obscured for so long.

#### Function, Iconography, Provenance and Categories

According to Faxian, the Chinese Buddhist monk who traveled the length of India during the early fifth century, “brightly colored and grandly executed” banner paintings, presumably on cloth, were witnessed throughout the country.<sup>6</sup> Although this does not indicate the exact function or scale of the paintings, it suggests that *patas* had probably been produced throughout history, and commonly used within a religious context. While the production of cloth paintings was probably common to Buddhists and Hindus as well as Jains, Jain *tirtha patas* have been considered unique in their functions.<sup>7</sup> Jain *tirtha*

---

<sup>6</sup> Faxian, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hsien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*, trans. by James Legge, reprint of 1886 edition, (New York; Dover, 1965): 105-106.

<sup>7</sup> Andhare divides religious cloth paintings into two categories according to their functions: tantric and non-tantric. Tantric works include *yantras* (sacred diagrams) or scenes from tantric texts, such as the *Hrinkara mantra*, the mantra with the Hrin syllable. Non-tantric works include *tirtha patas*, cosmic diagrams such as *adhai dvipas* (one and a half continents), *gyana baji* (cloth paintings for traditional game of snakes and ladders), or scrolls such as *vijnaptipatras* (letters of invitation) and *kshamapana patrikas* (letters of pardon). Andhare, 1994, 78.

*patas* have been worshiped as embodiments of the site, especially by those who could not go to the actual place.

Worship of *tirtha patas* can still be seen in modern Jain practices. According to John Cort, during the month of Kartak (October/November), especially on the day of the full moon, many Jains go to Shatrunjaya to celebrate the re-opening of the mountain after the four-month rainy season (*comasu*) when mendicants cease their travels. Cort describes two Shatrunjaya *patas* at the market place of Patan, Gujarat, erected on this day in a direction closest to Shatrunjaya for worshipers who could not physically make the pilgrimage. (Figure 5-2: Worshipers in front of two Shatrunjaya *patas* at Sarovar Khan Market, Patan)<sup>8</sup> Within this context, the *tirtha pata* is an embodiment of the site, of which “visual apprehension … is charged with religious meaning.”<sup>9</sup> According to Talwar and Krishan, this belief in the inherent power of *tirtha patas* probably led to the *patas*’ storage within Jain temple libraries (*bhandars*), rather than private homes.<sup>10</sup>

In a few *tirtha patas*, the names of locations and temples are identified by the inscriptions under the depiction.<sup>11</sup> However, in most *tirtha patas*, the sites are identified through their iconography. While later *tirtha patas* display many more details, three features help in identifying Shatrunjaya. Firstly, schematized hills and wildlife

---

<sup>8</sup> Cort, 2001a, 176.

<sup>9</sup> Eck, 1998, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Talwar and Krishna, 1979, 84. While contemporary *patas* are expected to be used in private homes as well as temples, it is likely that the larger *patas* were mostly commissioned for public use. If used in a private home, they would be most likely used sparingly, for specific times such as during festivals, or within a pre-ordained space.

<sup>11</sup> For example, one inscription in an early *tirtha pata* says “Sri Śatruñjaya” above the worshipers next to the depiction of temples with the snake and peacock. (#4 in Appendix D. San Diego Museum of Art) Another Gujarati inscription on a later *pata* says “Adishvara bhagava mul nayakna ji (the main image of Lord Adishvara)” under the Main Adishvara Temple. (#18 in Appendix D. Acc. No. 1043 from the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad)

surrounding the temples in the *patas* indicate that Shatrunjaya is on a mountain, a remote area. (Figure 5-3: View of path up Shatrunjaya Hill). The second distinctive feature is a peacock and snake, two animals which are depicted in a stone relief still embedded in a small shrine behind the Main Adishvara Temple (Figure 5-4: Relief of snake and peacock, Main Adishvara Temple complex). These two animals appear in stories from the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*.<sup>12</sup> The third feature is the depiction of the five Pandava brothers, who according to Jain literature, attained salvation at Shatrunjaya. (Figure 5-5: Image of five Pandava Brothers at Shatrunjaya)

Although much research has been done on earlier Jain paintings, late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century paintings from western India, including *patas*, have not garnered much attention. This may be partially caused by the stylistic ambiguity of the paintings. Apart from the fact that most *tirtha patas* were produced in western India, most likely Gujarat, it is not easy to prove further details of their provenance.<sup>13</sup> This is especially true in the case of later Shatrunjaya *patas*, which usually lack inscriptions or other indications of their places of production. Especially with much more frequent migration of artists during this

---

<sup>12</sup> According to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, the peacock is said to have been listening to Adishvara (the first Tirthankara) preaching at Shatrunjaya, and was reborn to achieve enlightenment. The snake is not found in any stories relating directly to Adishvara; however, according to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*, a Brahman named Susharma killed his family in rage and was reborn as a snake. The snake overheard an ascetic preaching about Shatrunjaya and yearned to go to the sacred site. Hearing his wish, Vidyadharas took it to Shatrunjaya where it was reborn and achieved enlightenment. Kanchansagarsuri, 1982, 13. It is also possible that the two animals, enemies in nature, were depicted under the Rayana tree as a symbol of the *samavasarana*, the celestial assembly in which the Tirthankara preached to all the gods and humans and animals, and all ceased fighting.

<sup>13</sup> According to Andhare, the *patas* show a mixture of Gujarat and Maratha costume types, architecture, flora and fauna, which suggests that the *patas* were produced in western India. Shridhar Andhare, "Jain Monumental Painting," in *Steps to Liberation: 2,500 Years of Jain Art and Religion*, edited by Jan Van Alphen, (Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen, 2000): 73.

period,<sup>14</sup> it is impossible to ascribe any late 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup>-century western Indian painting to a place of production on stylistic grounds alone. However, while several examples are attributed to different regions, including Champaner, Surat or Ahmedabad, and Jaipur,<sup>15</sup> it is most likely that the *tirtha patas*, especially the later ones with copious details of the temples at Shatrunjaya, were produced by painters who were very familiar with the site, unless there was an exemplar *pata* (or *patas*) which was copied extensively.

It is not easy to confirm whether the painters simply copied an existing *pata* or drawing, or painted from their direct experience with the site. Currently, there are at least two workshops in Palitana which produce Shatrunjaya *patas*, whose painters claim that they have been producing *patas* for several generations.<sup>16</sup> At the workshop, the Shatrunjaya *patas* were sketched using another contemporary *pata* as a model; however, they also included newer temples that were not included within the model *pata*. This indicates that the painters are aware of the changes at the site. In a similar manner, 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas* are all depicted with the most current temples. If the painters did not have direct knowledge of the site, at least the producers of the sources (e.g. a model Shatrunjaya *pata*) were aware of the addition of new *tunks* at Shatrunjaya and depicted

<sup>14</sup> The reign of the sixth Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) brought a first migration of artists from the imperial workshops to the smaller courts in Rajasthan or the Deccan. Milo C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 173. The migration of artists may have increased following the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the weakened Mughal rule and resurgence of the Marathas.

<sup>15</sup> Among the later Shatrunjaya *patas*, three have attributed to a specific place of production. The *Panca Tirthi Pata* (#1 in Appendix D) is attributed to Champaner, 50 kilometers northeast of Vadodara in south Gujarat. The inscriptions indicate that two merchants from Champaner commissioned the painting. A 19<sup>th</sup>-century Shatrunjaya *Pata* (#17 in Appendix D) is attributed to "Ahmedabad or Surat." This *pata* is very similar to other 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas* and display concrete knowledge of Shatrunjaya, which leads to a conclusion that it was produced at the same place as the others, i.e. in or around Palitana. The final example (#13 in Appendix D) is from Jaipur. Unlike the previous *pata*, this could have been painted by a Jaipur artist not familiar with Shatrunjaya, due to its concise features (often incorrect) and distinctive style.

<sup>16</sup> Personal interview with Haribhai, owner of Haribhai Painters, Palitana. July 26, 2003.

them. Currently, there is no one *pata* that may be singled out as a model *pata*, since most of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas* have individual features that cannot be seen in other examples.<sup>17</sup> This implies that the artist had first-hand knowledge of the site, and if the artist was using a source, it was an extremely detailed one, also made by someone who had clearly experienced the site.

Experience of the site does not necessarily mean pilgrimage, and 19<sup>th</sup>-century writings indicate that not only worshipers but non-Jains were also allowed on the site.<sup>18</sup> All of the present artists in Palitana are Hindu.<sup>19</sup> However, in contrast to this current production, Andhare has suggested that the Mathen (or Matheran) community, an artist community originally based in the Jodhpur and Bikaner area during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, may be responsible for the production of Shatrunjaya *patas*.<sup>20</sup> According to Andhare, Mathen artists were originally members of the Jain ascetic order. They were,

<sup>17</sup> For example, the pattern of the paths on Shatrunjaya hill are not consistent in most of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Shatrunjaya *patas*, which may reflect how the painter (or viewer) experienced the site. Most *patas* show Hathi Pol (Elephant Gate), but only a few *patas* show Vaghan Pol (Tigress Gate), although both gates existed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although one can argue that the artist was careless or the depiction of Vaghan Pol did not matter that much, if the *patas* were copied from a source, it is more likely that they all included significant buildings at the same place and with same identification. More likely, the experience of the viewer varied at the site, resulting in different depictions. On the other hand, two *patas* are almost identical (#15 and #16 in Appendix D) in their depictions of temples, paths, gates, and architectural details; it may be possible that they were either produced by the same artist/workshop or one was a copy of the other.

<sup>18</sup> For example, there are records that the Palitana Thakur Mansinghji visited Shatrunjaya with his entourage. Also, the temple employees (*pujaris*) at Shatrunjaya were traditionally not Jains but Hindus, so it does not seem that there was any restriction forbidding non-Jains entering the site.

<sup>19</sup> The religion of the artist would not be relevant to the production of *patas*, since Pal argues that the same artists would work for Hindu, Jain or Muslim patrons. Rather, it is popularly believed that Jains should not be artists, especially as painters have to work with brushes made of animal hair which are strictly avoided in the religion. Pratapaditya Pal, "Introduction," in *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, (New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994): 24. Pal states that the inscription on one Jain painting employs the term *chitram*, apparently used by Muslim painters of Mewar and refers to artists as well as to cloth paintings.

<sup>20</sup> Personal interview with Shridhar Andhare. Ahmedabad, August 4, 2003.

however, expelled after transgressing rules of conduct and re-entered the lay community as artisans (*grahastis*).<sup>21</sup> While it is possible that early Jain *patas*, which contained more specialized knowledge such as mystic diagrams (*yantras*), may have been produced by Mathen artists, there is no further proof that the *tirtha patas* or Shatrunjaya *patas* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were produced by this community.

The following sections briefly examine the earliest Jain *patas*, *tirtha patas*, and Shatrunjaya *patas* according to the dates of their production. The earliest Jain *patas* provide a background for understanding the following *tirtha* and Shatrunjaya *patas*; they were most likely the artistic predecessors of the *tirtha patas*. *Tirtha patas* can be divided into two groups according to the date of production. The first group consists of *tirtha patas* which depict several pilgrimage sites including Shatrunjaya. This group may be divided into three sub-groups by the dates of production and shapes of the *patas*. The second group of the *tirtha patas* all depict Shatrunjaya as the sole, or most definitely central, subject matter. This second group can also be divided into three sub-groups, according to the dates.

### 1. Early examples of *patas*

In addition to Faxian's writings, several indigenous sources describe the production of *patas* in South Asia. For example, Moti Chandra cites Madhavacharya, a 14<sup>th</sup>-century philosopher, who compared the process of making cloth paintings to the "four modes of

<sup>21</sup> As part of his studies on the genealogies of Rajasthani painters, Andhare has examined the Mathen artists. Shridhar Andhare, "A Dated Śalibhadra Chaupai and the Mathen Painters of Bikaner," in *Sri Nagabhinandanam: Dr. M.S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift : Essays on Art, Culture, History, Archaeology, Epigraphy and Conservation of Cultural Property of India and Neighbouring Countries*, ed. L. K. Srinivasan, S. Nagaraju and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, (Bangalore: M.S. Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Committee, 1995): 482.

higher self' in his text *Panchadashi*. According to the *Panchadashi*, pieces of coarsely woven cloth (*khaddar*) were washed, burnished, drawn upon, and colored.<sup>22</sup> The earliest remaining example of a cloth painting can be dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century: a Jain *Chintamani Yantra* [a mystic diagram] with an image of Parshvanath, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Tirthankara, seated within concentric circles.<sup>23</sup> Two more examples of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century are both in a similar format.<sup>24</sup> Their small sizes and folded conditions suggest that these paintings were carried around, probably as aids for meditation.

These *patas* do not show any specific place, but rather focus on the deities.<sup>25</sup> In contrast, the earliest remaining *tirtha pata*, which depicts a "place," dates to 1433 CE. According to Andhare, *patas* which depict pilgrimage places were unique to Shvetambara Jains and only came into vogue by the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> These early *tirtha patas* can be divided into three subgroups, according to their dates.

<sup>22</sup> According to Madhavacharya, the "four modes of higher self" are compared to the four stages of cloth painting: washing (*dhauta*), burnishing (*ghattita*), drawing (*lanchchhita*) and coloring (*ranjita*). Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, 1949): 46. Chandra also lists several other traditional sources which discuss cloth paintings, including the *Samyutta Nikaya*, *Visuddhimagga*, *Mahavamsa*, and the *Kamasutra*.

<sup>23</sup> Chandra, 1949, 46. Figure published as Plate 12, in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Jaina Art," in *Essays on Jaina Art*, ed. Richard Cohen, (New Delhi: Manohar, 2003): 88.

<sup>24</sup> One example is *Samavasaran of Adishvara*, within the collection of Sarabhai Nawab. Figure 187 in Chandra, 1949, 51. Another example is a *Vardhamana Vidya Pata* with the image of Mahavira in the center, in the collection of Muni Punavijaya. Published in U.P. Shah, "Vardhamana-Vidya-Pata," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* IX (1941): 42.

<sup>25</sup> Chandra argues that an image of *Parshvanath* within the collection of Ananda Coomaraswamy (dated to early 15<sup>th</sup> century) includes a depiction of Shatrunjaya, due to the image of five "perfected souls (*siddhas*)" seated above the crescent of Siddhashila. These could be interpreted as the five Pandava brothers, who attained salvation at Shatrunjaya; however the five figures are depicted as Tirthankaras, rather than the standard depiction of male devotees wearing white garments. With the absence of mountainous depiction and wildlife, as well as the peacock and snake, it is more likely the five figures are representations of multiple Tirthankaras, since Parshvanath does not have a significant relationship to Shatrunjaya. Chandra, 1949, 47-48. Image of *pata* published as Plate 12, in Coomaraswamy, 2003, 88.

<sup>26</sup> Andhare, 1994, 78.

### 1-a. *Tirtha pata* from Champaner, Dated 1433 CE

Earlier *tirtha patas* more commonly have inscribed dates than the later *patas*. The earliest *tirtha pata* (#1, Appendix D) is dated to 1433 CE, although the long vertical manuscript format (9 meters in length, 30 centimeters in height) and line art is unique among the remaining *patas*. Commissioned by Kothari Vaghaka and Saha Gunyaka, two merchants from Champaner, a town in eastern Gujarat, the paintings of pilgrimage sites are separated with blank spaces, which were probably intended to be filled with text.

(Figure 5-6: Partial view depicting Neminath Temple, Girnar, in #1 *pata*, Appendix D)

The third painting of this cloth scroll depicts the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya. The five Pandava brothers, portrayed with their wife Draupadi and mother Kunti, as well as a snake on the left side of the main superstructure (*shikhara*) indicate that this scene depicts Shatrunjaya.<sup>27</sup> While this cloth painting is contemporary with the *tirtha patas* of the following sub-group, it is separately discussed because it was probably intended to be used as a manuscript (most likely to be gifted to a temple),<sup>28</sup> rather than carried around folded or viewed as a hanging, which was the common method of use for all other *patas*.

### 1-b. Nine-part *Tirtha Patas* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Four examples fall in a second group of early *patas*. These date from the same period as the Champaner *Tirtha Pata* but have distinctive features. (#2-#5, Appendix D). These four examples probably developed from the earliest *patas* with Tirthankaras and *yantras* and were used as meditation aids, as the focus of the *pata* is the central image.

<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, while other parts of this cloth scroll have been published, the Shatrunjaya part has not been published.

<sup>28</sup> Most likely this *pata* was commissioned to be gifted to an ascetic or temple, and would have been stored in a temple library rather than used regularly.

All date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and share many similarities such as size (around 30x30 cm), the inclusion of multiple *tirthas* as well as a Tirthankara or *mantras* (incantations)<sup>29</sup>, and the format. Because these *patas* are roughly divided into nine squares, they are sometimes called nine-part diagrams (*nava pada yantras*). In one example, at the San Diego Museum of Art, the *tirthas* surround an image of a golden Tirthankara, most likely Mahavira, but not identifiable with certainty. (Figure 5-7: #4, Appendix D). Shatrunjaya is located on the top left square, identified by a slightly corrupted Devanagari inscription [Śri Śatruñjaya] above the two ascetics on the right side of the main image of the site, as well as the Pandava brothers and the peacock and snake. The round face and distinctive chin of the Tirthankara, as well as the protruding eyes and sharp-edged dotted clothes of the worshipers are comparable to the figures in the Champaner *pata* mentioned above, as well as other 15<sup>th</sup> century paintings from Western India.<sup>30</sup> The depiction of each pilgrimage site focuses on the central Tirthankara and worshipers, rather than the temple architecture, which is merely a frame created by an elaborate superstructure supported by pillars over the central image. Another example within the collection of Muni Amaravijaya depicts Parshvanath in the middle section, identifiable with his thousand-snake canopy (Figure 5-8: #3, Appendix D). The four squares in the corners of the *pata* depict four pilgrimage sites: from top left in clockwise direction, Shatrunjaya, Girnar,

---

<sup>29</sup> A *mantra* is a spell, or performative utterance. According to Cort, *mantras* are recited as part of the worship rituals of Jains; the most sacred and widespread of all is the *Nokar Mantra*, which praises the Tirthankaras, the perfected souls, the teachers and ascetics. Cort, 2001a, 66.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible to see the similarities of the figures with those in “The Annual Distribution of Alms,” in a *Kalpa Sutra* manuscript dated to 1432. Collection of Acharya Jayasurishvara, Plate 89, 90 of Chandra, 1949.

Sammeta Shikhara, and Ashtapada. Shatrunjaya is identified by the five Pandava brothers, Draupadi and Kunti, as well as the snake and peacock above the main superstructure.<sup>31</sup>

### 1-c. Long *Tirtha Patas* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century

Three *tirtha patas* dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century belong to the last group of earlier *patas*. (#6-8, Appendix D) Two of these share a similar format, much longer than wide. Unlike the *patas* of group 1-b, the main *tirthas* are depicted within the middle section, surrounded with a large number of Tirthankaras and/or *mantras*. According to the colophons, they were both commissioned in 1641 CE by Shantidas Jhaveri, a Jain merchant from Ahmedabad. According to M.S. Commissariat, Shantidas Jhaveri was one of the foremost jewelers and financiers during the reign of the Mughals.<sup>32</sup> Several imperial Mughal *farmans* granted by Shah Jahan, Prince Murad Bakhsh, and Aurangzeb also indicate the close relationship between the Mughal emperors and Shantidas Jhaveri. While these *farmans* will be discussed in the final chapter, it is possible that the *tirtha patas* were commissioned for public worship, as part of Shantidas' role as the leader of the Jain merchant community in Ahmedabad.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Stylistically, the date of Muni Amaravijaya's pata has been questioned by Moti Chandra due to its "lyrical feeling" and lack of protruding eye. Fig. 188 in Chandra, 1949. Chandra suggests an alternate date of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Chandra, 1949, 53.

<sup>32</sup> According to M.S. Commissariat, Shantidas Jhaveri was active from the early 1620s to at least 1660. Among his examples of patronage, Shantidas Jhaveri built the Chintamani Parshvanath Temple in the suburbs of Ahmedabad (1621-25), which was desecrated and turned into a mosque (Quvvat-ul-Islam) by Prince Aurangzeb in 1645. Commissariat affirms that this temple was in turn ordered to be restored in 1648 by Shah Jahan, although it was never reused due to the desecration that had happened. Commissariat, 1935, 53-78.

<sup>33</sup> Leaders of each religious/occupational community in Ahmedabad, for example, the Nagarsheth of the Jain merchant community, communicated with the rulers. Although the exact title "Nagarsheth" was not used until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, records indicate that Shantidas Jhaveri fulfilled this role during his lifetime. Maganlal Vakhetchand, *Amdavadno Itihasa*, (Ahmedabad: n.a, 1977); quoted in Makrand Mehta, "Social Base of Jain Entrepreneurs in the 17th Century:

One of these *tirtha patas* is currently in the collection of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Ahmedabad. (Figure 5-9: #6, Appendix D) This *tirtha pata* is the oldest *pata* that is still used ritually; it is brought out for worship in Ahmedabad on Paryushana, the festival ending the rainy season. Measuring 3.54 meters in height and 1.08 meter in width, it has an extensive colophon in addition to detailed inscriptions within the painting. In this *pata*, Shatrunjaya is depicted as the topmost site among the four pilgrimage sites in the middle section. It is recognized by the five Pandava brothers on the top right corner, as well as the peacock and snake. (Figure 5-10: Detail) The pilgrimage sites are surrounded with approximately a thousand Tirthankaras, with additional squares filled with *mantras*. According to Andhare, the *mantras* are essential to the paintings, with the “word” becoming an integral part of the mystic diagram (*yantra*) in a way that is rare in Buddhist or Hindu microcosms of the universe (*mandalas*).<sup>34</sup> Compared to the 15<sup>th</sup>-century nine-part diagrams, this *tirtha pata* indicates an interest in architecture, with a full—although rather stylized—depiction of temples placed in a vertical row. Each temple is depicted from the side with a central image placed within a main sanctum and topped with a superstructure. On both sides of the main sanctums are halls covered with domes and flags fluttering in the wind. The remaining area is filled with shrines, monks, worshipers, and animals. The images of the Tirthankaras are similar to those found in 15<sup>th</sup>-century *patas*. Also, the worshipers are depicted bare-chested and wearing *dhotis*, i.e. cloth wrapped around the waist and legs, with an extra piece of cloth draped across the shoulders, following the Gujarati costume of that period. Most of them are wearing

---

Shantidas Zaveri of Ahmedabad," in *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective: With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat, 17th to 19th Centuries*, (Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991): 95.

<sup>34</sup> Andhare, 1994, 81.

peaked caps, or *mukutas*.<sup>35</sup> Although there are no women depicted, Shvetambara monks can be seen wearing white garbs.

Another example, also commissioned by Shantidas Jhaveri in 1641 CE according to the colophons, has a similar composition. (Figure 5-11 and 12: top and bottom, #7, Appendix D) Shatrunjaya is again placed in the highest position among the pilgrimage sites. While the site can still be identified with the snake/peacock and Pandava brothers, other distinctive features can be seen, too, including the large Adbhutji image and the town of Palitana between Shatrunjaya and the next pilgrimage site beneath it. (Figure 5-13: Detail) The portions above and below the pilgrimage sites are filled with images of Tirthankaras, as well as the eight auspicious symbols of Jainism,<sup>36</sup> *mantras*, and additional temples. The whole *pata* is surrounded with a continuous floral border.<sup>37</sup> Compared to the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi *pata*, this *pata*, especially the central portion with the pilgrimage sites, is much more naturalistically portrayed with hills covered with shaded rocks as well as skilled depictions of elephants and prancing horses. While some men are in traditional garb, or *dhotis* (which is customary for pilgrims), some men in this *pata* are portrayed wearing long tunics with embroidered sashes, reflecting the Mughal attire of this period. It is not clear why two *patas* with such disparate styles were commissioned at the same time by the same client, although it is possible that the

---

<sup>35</sup> Chandra, 1949, 124.

<sup>36</sup> The eight auspicious symbols of Jainism (*ashtamangala*) are the swastika, a diamond-shaped lozenge, an extended swastika, a powder flask, a throne, a full pot, a mirror, and a pair of fish. These are sometimes linked with the eight dreams that the mother of a Tirthankara had before his conception, and symbolize increase and fertility. Cort, 2001a, 194.

<sup>37</sup> Shridhar Andhare mentions that this particular *pata* was in bad condition when brought to the Prince of Wales Museum *circa* 1978, and he restored it to its present condition. While the colophon indicates it was commissioned in 1641, the lowest portion may be a later addition due to the slightly different color schemes and stylistic features. Shridhar Andhare, "Painted Banners on Cloth: Vividha-Tirtha-Pata of Ahmedabad," *Marg* 31, no. 4 (1979): 42.

central portion of the Samvegi Pata was repainted in a more contemporary style at a later time.

## 2. Later Shatrunjaya *Patas*: From the Late-18<sup>th</sup> Century Through the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Later *patas* include all pre-modern *patas* that date after the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to 1900. (#9-21, Appendix D) Among these *patas*, only two are dated with inscriptions. The first is a *Tirtha Pata* (#10) at the LD Museum of Art, Ahmedabad, dated to 1792 CE (or “Vikram Samvat 1848”), according to an inscription at the bottom of the *pata*. Another is a *Satrunjaya Pata* at the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad (#21, Appendix D). This is dated to earlier than 1885, because a long inscription states, among other things, that the painting was “repaired and repainted at Kishangarh by artist Himmavijay who was a native of Patan, Gujarat ...in Samvata 1942 (1885 CE).”<sup>38</sup> Most later *patas* appear to be produced between these two dates, 1792 and 1885.

The later *patas* may be divided into three sub-groups. The first sub-group is comprised of horizontal *patas*, in which the width of the *pata* is longer than or similar to the length of the *pata*. In these *patas*, the focus of the *patas* is the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya, with the rest of the site spread over the *pata*. *Patas* in this sub-group probably were produced earlier than others in the group of later *patas*. The *patas* in the second and third sub-groups are vertical *patas*, longer than wide. These *patas* generally depict Shatrunjaya on the top part, with the lowest part dedicated to depictions of mountains and the town of Palitana. Shatrunjaya *patas* of the second and third sub-

---

<sup>38</sup> Talwar and Krishna, 1979, 85.

groups are distinguished by the inclusion of the valley temples (Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk, completed 1837) in the third sub-group of *patas*.

## 2-a. Transitional *Patas* of the Late-18<sup>th</sup> Century

Probably the earliest within the first sub-group of later *patas* is now located at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, NY (5-14: #9, Appendix D). Measuring 77 centimeters in height and 96 centimeters in width, the *pata* can be horizontally divided into two sections, with the left section viewed horizontally, and the right section vertically. This *pata*'s horizontal division, date, and identification all have perplexed scholars. The horizontal division has been suggested as a result of later repair; however, W. Norman Brown, who first discovered and published the painting, refutes this argument.<sup>39</sup>

For the date of the *pata*, Brown suggests that “the style of paintings, the costumes, and the treatment of facial hair on the male figures indicate that it was executed in Gujarat or some area nearby, such as southern Rajputana in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.”<sup>40</sup> Amy Poster suggests an approximate date of 1750 for the *pata*, noting that it shows stylistic similarities to a Jodhpur manuscript of 1745 illustrating the *Chandana Malayagiri Varta*. The *pata*, she notes, shares several features in common with this manuscript: the floral border, landscape elements, animals, and figures as well as the distinctive color scheme of bright opaque colors.<sup>41</sup> This coincides with Andhare’s view, that only during the eighteenth and nineteenth century “did the *tirtha pata* assume

<sup>39</sup> W. Norman Brown, “A Painting of a Jain Pilgrimage,” *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy*, (London: Luzac and Company, 1947): 69.

<sup>40</sup> Brown, 1947, 69..

<sup>41</sup> Brooklyn Museum and Amy G. Poster, *Realms of Heroism : Indian Paintings at the Brooklyn Museum*, (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Brooklyn Museum, 1994): 197-199.

monumental proportions, as it became customary to devote an entire painting to a single pilgrimage site.”<sup>42</sup>

Another reason for dating this *pata* to the late-18<sup>th</sup> century is the identification of the site. Brown suggested that the left part of the *pata* depicts Sammet Shikhara (current Parasnath) in Bihar, eastern India, with the small temples indicating the places where 20 out of 24 Tirthankaras attained salvation.<sup>43</sup> Joseph Schwartzberg agrees with this view, adding that the patron of the *pata* probably commissioned it to celebrate his completion of pilgrimage to all of the significant sites of Jain pilgrimage. Schwartzberg suggests that the patron, riding a white horse, is depicted 10 times within the painting, also indicating a continuous narrative. However, while both Brown and Schwartzberg identify the left part as Sammet Shikhara, I suggest that this left part of the *pata* depicts Shatrunjaya.<sup>44</sup> Most likely the top-left circle indicates the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya, with the large Tirthankara directly adjacent to it on the right indicating Adbhutji, the huge image of Adishvara that was built in 1630. While both Brown and Schwartzberg have suggested that the five standing figures on the right side of Adbhutji are five unidentified Tirthankaras in the standing position, they are all depicted with clothes, which makes the suggestion of the five Pandava brothers more likely. The possibility that the left part depicts Shatrunjaya is reinforced by the depiction of a river on the left side border, which became a standard feature in later *patas* representing the Shetrungi River.

---

<sup>42</sup> Andhare, 1994, 78.

<sup>43</sup> 20 Tirthankaras are believed to have achieved *moksha* (liberation) at Sammet Shikhara. The other four, i.e. Adishvara (1<sup>st</sup>), Vasupujya (12<sup>th</sup>), Neminath (22<sup>nd</sup>), and Mahavira (24<sup>th</sup>), achieved liberation respectively at Ashtapada (imagined site in the Himalayas, later believed to be Shatrunjaya), Champa (present Bhagalpur), Girnar (Gujarat), and Pawapuri (in Patna, Bihar).

<sup>44</sup> Brown and Schwartzberg also suggest that (only) the left-top circle may be Shatrunjaya, and if so, the other temples on the left are depictions of the temples at Sammet Shikara. Brown, 1947, 70. Schwartzberg, 1987, 441.

If this is true, the smaller shrines and mountainous area on the left depict the hill of Shatrunjaya, with another unidentified walled city on the lower right. It is most tempting to suggest that this city is Palitana, and the procession of pilgrimage indicates the patron starting at Palitana and arriving at the Main Adishvara Temple at Shatrunjaya. However, the large size of the walled city indicates that this was an important site, and Palitana does not gain significance as a city in other *patas* until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rather, as Schwartzberg suggests, this city could be a depiction of another pilgrimage site, possibly Pawapuri, the city where Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, achieved salvation. According to Brown and Schwartzberg, the tank on the left side of the lower right city could indicate Kundagama, the birthplace of Mahavira, with the tree and footprints above it marking the place where Mahavira entered the ascetic order. In this case, the *pata* would cover two pilgrimage sites related to the first of the 24 Tirthankaras (Adishvara; Shatrunjaya) and the last of the 24 Tirthankaras (Mahavira; Parasnath) on opposite sides of the South Asian subcontinent in Gujarat and Bihar.

The earliest **dated** *pata* within the first group is a *Tirtha Pata* at the LD Museum, dated to 1792 according to the inscription at the bottom of the *pata*. (Figure 5-15: #10, Appendix D) Following the path of pilgrims, the temples are depicted in the order one would encounter them. Although there is no sense of scale or distance, it is clear that the painter understood how to approach the site and what he could see on the way to each temple. The left side of the painting depicts the Main Adishvara Temple with a red courtyard. The other temples and *tunks* are inscribed with names of (in order of construction) the Sava Somji/Chaumukh Tunk (rebuilt 1618), Adbhutji (built 1630), Panch Pandava Tunk (renovated c. 1721), Chipa Vasahi (renovated 1735), and Prema

Vasahi (another name for Modi Tunk, built 1786). The existence of the Prema Vasahi signifies the fact that the painting reflects the most recent constructions at the sacred site. As with the Brooklyn Museum Pata, Shetrunji River is depicted within the left and top border, with Palitana depicted on the lower left hand side. Palitana is a walled city, with an image of a Tirthankara enthroned in a small shrine. The city is identified with an inscription saying “*palitana nagar* [town of Palitana].” A male figure and an ascetic are depicted larger than others in front of the shrine; they could depict a leader of a pilgrimage and his guru, although it is not clear. On the other hand, the lower right portion of the *pata*, which is filled with tents and pilgrims preparing for the hike up the hill, has another inscription, “*sangh ka utaro* [the starting point for the *sangh*].” Unlike contemporary Palitana, in which the town has sprawled all the way to the beginning of the path up Shatrunjaya hill, it is possible that the town of Palitana was not that large and still a fair distance from the hill of Shatrunjaya during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The upper right-hand portion of the *pata* is painted with slightly different mountains and small shrines with the inscription “Girnara,” or Girnar, another significant pilgrimage site for Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains in Gujarat. This may represent a connection between this *pata* and earlier *tirtha patas* produced before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which depict four or more pilgrimage sites in one *pata*. I propose that the LD Pata was transitional between earlier *tirtha patas* and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Shatrunjaya *patas*, e.g. as the Brooklyn one, where Shatrunjaya emerged as the most important pilgrimage site, but included another major pilgrimage site, too.

Another example at the Calico Museum of Textiles depicts only Shatrunjaya, but also seems to be a transitional example. (5-16: #12, Appendix D) . The shape of the *pata*,

only slightly longer in length than width, may indicate a transitional stage between the horizontally wider early *patas* to the vertically longer later *patas*. The figures and temples in the *pata* seem to be not completely finished, and in addition, the *pata* has been considerably damaged with large parts later repaired with cloth. However, the large Adbhutji (1630) is intact, and Palitana is also visible in the lower right hand side. Although it has been dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Talwar and Krishna, it is also possible that just the Tirthankara images, with their sketch-like facial features and broad chests, were repainted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Also, the piles of sacred pots, visible under the Main Adishvara Temple, is a feature seen in the late-18<sup>th</sup>-century Brooklyn *pata* but not in any later *patas*, suggesting an earlier date of production. If these three *patas* can be dated to a similar time, it would be possible that they indicate the rising significance of Shatrunjaya.

#### 2-b. Later Shatrunjaya Patas: Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The remaining nine *patas* of sub-group 2-b and 2-c all share several features. They are all longer than they are wide, measuring almost two meters in length. All of the *patas* depict Palitana in the lower right-hand side. All of them are topographically accurate, correctly portraying not only the Main Adishvara Temple but also the other *tunks* on the northern peak and distinctive temples such as Adbhutji. However, these also can be divided into two sub-groups according to the presence of the temples in the valley between the southern and northern peak. These temples include those in the Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk, which were built from 1836 and onwards. The depiction of these temples indicates that the *pata* was painted at least after their completion. Out of the

nine *patas* painted after the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, four do not depict the valley temples (sub-group 2-b), and five depict them in detail (sub-group 2-c).

The unique style and iconography of the first example among the sub-group 2-b *patas* makes it the most inconsistent example. (5-17: #13, Appendix D) Andhare suggests that this *pata* was

very likely ... rendered in Jaipur, where the artist was not familiar with the highly detailed style of farther west. The draftsmanship in this painting is more delicate, the coloring distinctive, and the use of distorted shapes and forms quite startling. The artist seems to have been concerned less with topographical accuracy than with creating a visionary composition of abstract patterns.<sup>45</sup>

While the location and shape of the Main Adishvara Temple corresponds roughly with its depiction in other *patas*, the artist does not display an understanding of the roads leading to the temple complexes as other artists do. Also the Shetrunji River is depicted on three sides of the *pata* (starting at the lower left towards the top and ending at the lower right), compared with other *patas*, which show the river only on the left side or left and top side. The treatment of the borders also is different from other *patas*, depicting much more detailed flowers. A bright green color is used for the color of the mountain areas, which is not seen in any of the other examples. Most likely this was a copy of another *pata*, or produced according to the descriptions of a pilgrim, who did not understand the site completely.

However, the other three examples in Group 2-b are almost identical, with the same composition and stylistic features. (5-18 and 19: #14 and #16, Appendix D) The assembly (*sangh*) of pilgrims starts at the lower right-hand side at the town of Palitana, which is depicted with double-storied buildings surrounding a shrine with a Tirthankara.

---

<sup>45</sup> Andhare, 1994, 252.

The road filled with pilgrims divides into two directions at the lower right part of the *pata*, with one road heading to the left towards the Main Adishvara Temple, and the other heading right towards the temples on the northern peak. The road towards the Main Adishvara Temple encircles the temple, meeting with the road to the northern peak on the upper right hand side of the *pata*. The Main Adishvara Temple on the southern summit, as the most important shrine on Shatrunjaya, is usually recognized by its larger size and prominent placement in the upper left section. Its two-storied entrance hall, mentioned by Burgess in his brief description of the site,<sup>46</sup> is depicted clearly in most of the later *patas*; so is the high dais beneath the main *murti* of Adishvara within this temple. The Adbhutji Temple, with its huge Adishvara image, is visible between the Main Adishvara Temple and the other temples on the northern summit. The Chaumukh Tunk on the northern summit is also clearly depicted on the right-hand section of the *patas*, with the main temple sanctum divided into four sections with four Tirthankaras, which indicate the four-faced *murti* of the temple. Other identifiable features include Hanuman Dehri with the monkey-god at the fork of the road, Hathipol with two elephants aside the gate which leads to the Main Adishvara Temple, Surya Kund, a round water tank behind the Main Adishvara Temple, and the images of the five Pandava brothers on the northern summit. The Shetrunji River is depicted on the left-hand side of the *pata* with fish in the waves.

The *patas* in this sub-group also share an identical style. Pilgrims in the *patas* are depicted everywhere on the site, filling the courtyards and the paths. Men are dressed in Mughalized costumes, with turbans, flowing scarves and pleated dresses, while women are dressed in the more traditional sari printed with dots and flower patterns characteristic

---

<sup>46</sup> Burgess, 1976, 25.

of Gujarati textiles. The mountains in all three *patas* are depicted in the same way, with dark green and light green outlines and filled with wild animals or trees. In contrast to the area of the temples, which are colored in a dark red or black color, the area around Palitana is lighter-colored, with the exception of the Jain temple within the town, which has a darker-colored courtyard.

### 2-c. Later Shatrunjaya *Patas*: Post-1837

In addition to the changes described in the *patas* of sub-group 2-b, *patas* of sub-group 2-c display the new temples built within the valley. Built almost at the same time, the Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk are depicted as two temple enclosures accessible from the lower right hand portion of the Main Adishvara Temple complex. (5-20 and 21: #19 and #20, Appendix D) Also, the town of Palitana becomes larger in its size and clearly depicted with a lighter background, compared to the darker courtyards of the *tunks*. This may indicate a distinct space, i.e. a secular space in comparison with the sacred space of the temples. Detailed activities are portrayed within each *pata*, with the *yatis* (resident priests) preparing for ceremonies, musicians playing instruments, and women setting up the offerings.

One Phase 2-c *pata* is particularly remarkable. This example, at the Calico Museum of Textiles, is dated earlier than 1885 by its inscription on the lower left-hand corner.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> According to the inscription, “Shri Jinaya Namah. Svasti Shri Manglam Bhavatu Samvata 1942 Varshe ... Masottam Maghmase Shuklapakshe Tihau 5 Bhome ... Shri Shri 1008 Shri Vijayraja Surishvara ... Krishnagarasya Sangha Siddhakashetra Tirthrajasya ... Gambhira Vijay ... bha Vijay Upadeshat Sushravaka Bhandari ... Shilpvid ... Himmat Vijayen ... Chitrakar Murlidhar Krishnaram Ganesh Das ... Pattam Karitam Lekhak Dashakanam Manglam Bhavatu ... Kanpurvasi Bhandariji Tat Pattasyajirnoddhwara Kritam.” This translates into: “Bhandariji of Kanpur had this *Siddhakshetra tirtharaja pata* repaired and repainted at Kishangarh by artist

(5-22: #21, Appendix D) The composition of the *pata* is similar to that of other *patas* with the Main Adishvara Temple on the upper left corner, the northern peak temples on the upper right, and Palitana on the lower right hand corner. However, the style is distinctive. Compared to other *patas* which depict the temples from the side and placed as if they were on top of each other, the temples in *Pata* #21 are depicted wider in the front, where they are closer to the viewer. However, the Main Adishvara Temple, which is farthest in actual distance from the viewer, is still the largest temple, displaying the conflicting approach of the artist. In spite of the fact that the artist tried to convey distance by using perspective in the buildings and depicting people smaller as they move farther away, the convention of portraying the most important building as the largest had not died. The mountains and steps are also depicted in this naturalistic manner, as are the pilgrims with clearly depicted shadows.

However, the *pata* is not in good condition, with much of the repainted areas either not completed or deteriorated. The textile has faded in many places, and in some parts, it is possible to see the outlines of the original painting beneath the repair. It is most likely that when the *pata* was repainted, the temples were depicted with perspective in a newer style, since the faint outlines of the originally painted temples (especially the Chaumukh Temple, the lowest temple on the right-hand northern peak area) show the traditional view of a temple shown from the side. This *pata* is also the most detailed, showing various topographical features on the southern summit such as Hathipol (Elephant Gate), Vaghanpol (Tigress Gate), Punya ka Pap ki Dehri (Temple of Merit and Sin, which has a

---

Himmatvijay who was a native of Patan, Gujarat. It was done in Samvata 1942 (1885 AD) on Tuesday, the fifth of Magha Shukla Paksha by the order of Shri 1008 Shir Vijayraj Suri." Talwar and Krishna, 1979, 85.

full-size sculpture of a camel) and Ujambai Tunk on the northern summit (completed in 1848). The town of Palitana was also repainted extensively with the addition of many architectural details, for example, inlaid marble floors, kiosks (*chhatris*) over the main gate, and a fort-like structure. Although they cannot be seen clearly in the figure, the hillside is dotted with the occasional cattle instead of wild animals, which is worthy of note regarding the court case that was going on during the 1880s.<sup>48</sup> The Shetrunji River is depicted flowing on the left side of the hill, with four mountain peaks at the horizon above the hill: they may be a suggestion of the Sammet Shikara, Ashtapada, Mount Abu, and Girnar, i.e. the four Jain pilgrimage sites worshiped in addition to Shatrunjaya by Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains.

#### Changes within the Patas and Their Reasons

The changes that happen between the earlier *tirtha patas* and later Shatrunjaya *patas* can be summarized with four points. First, Shatrunjaya arose as the focus of the later *patas*, in contrast with the earlier *tirtha patas* which depict several pilgrimage sites as well as Tirthankaras and mantras. In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century *patas*, Shatrunjaya was depicted as the sole pilgrimage site. Second, the size of the *patas* increased from the smaller square size to larger sizes over a meter in width and height. Third, instead of a mythical place represented with a selected number of iconographical features (such as the mountains and wildlife, the peacock and snake, and the Pandava brothers), Shatrunjaya was depicted as a topographically and architecturally accurate site in the later *patas*. Finally, Palitana

---

<sup>48</sup> According to one legal case of 1886, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, the definition of “Shatrunjaya and its hills” was challenged by the Jains and the Thakurs, and this led to the British definition that it included the hill itself, the timber from the hill, and the grass from the hill that was fed to cattle.

became a significant element in the later *patas*, with its location in the lower right-hand corner replacing other pilgrimage sites.

What were the reasons for these changes? First, the focus on the single site of Shatrunjaya in the new *patas* was due to the rise of the site's prominence during the late-18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to the traditional status as a significant *tirtha*, several factors aided the rise of Shatrunjaya during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These included the new wealth of the patrons, the proximity of Shatrunjaya to the centers of wealth, and an ongoing discourse regarding the ownership of Shatrunjaya. The rise of Shatrunjaya as the most significant pilgrimage site for Jains also resulted in large-scale patronage, which led to massive renovations and rebuilding at the site during this period.

Then, why the changes in the size of the *patas*? As objects of communal worship, the function of *patas* was to provide worshipers a visual substitute for the pilgrimage site. The larger size of later *patas* enabled *darshan* (beholding) of the site to a larger audience. Compared to the smaller *tirtha patas*, which were probably used as personal articles, the larger *patas* indicate a public use, and an increase in the number of worshipers. This may have been the result of an increase in the number of Jains, but it also may suggest increasingly active participation in religious rituals and ceremonies.

The production of large Shatrunjaya *patas* during the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflects a way in which one could enact an actual pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya without physically being there. This was not a completely innovative phenomenon, since stone reliefs of the universe and pilgrimage sites have been found in Jain temples such as Ranakpur and also at

Shatrunjaya.<sup>49</sup> According to Granoff, these “bring to the one site the benefits of all the other holy sites and illustrate the words of praise that we find repeated in medieval texts: to worship here is to gain the merits of worshiping everywhere else.”<sup>50</sup> However, unlike these earlier examples which were incorporated into the temples, Shatrunjaya *patas* were large transportable objects. The act of bringing out the huge *patas* during specific days represented the act of bringing Shatrunjaya to the viewer. Now, why were these huge Shatrunjaya *patas* used for display in each community, if as mentioned earlier, pilgrimage had become relatively easier during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and people could actually go to the site? One reason would have been to fulfill the need of those who still could not make the actual pilgrimage. In addition, a rather more significant reason would be the need to present the huge *patas* of Shatrunjaya as a focal point for the worshipers. The Shatrunjaya *pata* became a point behind which a community could rally.

The changes in the style of the later *patas* of Shatrunjaya are closely related to their role as a focal point to the Jains who worshiped at Shatrunjaya, specifically, the Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains. No longer depictions of a generic pilgrimage site, they are topographically accurate, map-like representations, although lacking a specific orientation or scale. Considering that these *patas* were not used as maps *per se* (i.e. they were definitely not made to be used as actual guides to the site), this focus on accuracy is

---

<sup>49</sup> One example is a stone relief sculpture at the Adinath Temple (Dharana Vihara), Ranakpur, 1440-1500. Plate VI in Shah, 1941, 48.

<sup>50</sup> Granoff, 1994, 69-70. This is repeated in contemporary Jain temples, too. Dundas has also argued, “The ideal of the temporary suspension of the householder’s life to journey as a pilgrim remains before lay Jains even when they go to worship in their local temple. Most Shvetambara temples contain painted representations of the great holy places, depicted without any normal artistic perspective and in the standard garish style of contemporary demotic Indian religious art, which can serve as ancillary focuses of devotion after homage has been paid to the main temple image.” Dundas, 1992, 188.

rather remarkable. It represents the desire to “see” the site in terms of a real, not abstract, place.

The desire to see a site in a concrete and accurate manner reflects the wish to proclaim ownership; this desire to depict ownership corresponds with another visual medium, the map. Maps in general, and especially modern European maps, involve much more than depictions of a site. According to Svetlana Alpers, the creation of a map indicates an ownership of the site through the “aura of knowledge possessed by maps as such, regardless of the nature or degree of their accuracy.”<sup>51</sup> While a map indicates knowledge, and thus an implied ownership of the site, accuracy acts as a “new talisman of authority,”<sup>52</sup> strengthening the claim of knowledge and possession. Considering the legal cases on the ownership of Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the later *patas* can be understood as reflections of the assertion of Jain ownership. Especially the depiction of Palitana, which starts to be depicted prominently as a place of departure for pilgrims in later *patas*, reflects this intensifying notion of ownership. Palitana is depicted clearly as the “outside” of Shatrunjaya, emphasizing its role as a secular town, rather than a sacred place. This also represents an understanding of the need to provide a context for the site, in which Palitana clearly exists outside Shatrunjaya. According to Jeremy Black, representation of context within cartography signifies “an ability to think in historical terms and a turning towards a spatial, rather than a cosmological definition.”<sup>53</sup> With its

---

<sup>51</sup> Svetlana Alpers, “The mapping impulse in Dutch art,” in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward, (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987): 66.

<sup>52</sup> J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," In *The Iconography of Landscape : Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 300.

<sup>53</sup> Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past*, (New Haven; London:

accuracy and desire to represent the site in context, the later *patas* may be clearly understood as maps.

### Maps in South Asia: “Traditional” and “Modern”

A map is a sign, a medium between spatial reality and human understanding, which “helps human beings perceive … space without the need of direct experience.”<sup>54</sup> According to this definition, maps have existed in South Asia long before the later *patas* were produced. The earliest remaining South Asian “map” is a stone bas-relief representation of the mythical continent Nandishvara-dvipa, inscribed with the date of 1199-1200 CE.<sup>55</sup> Apart from these cosmographic maps, pre-modern South Asian maps include route maps and geographical maps, although there are almost no remaining examples dated before the late-16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup> Maps of routes and topography were produced for military needs or the collection of revenue, or in the unique case of Jaipur, for the preparation of building new structures.<sup>57</sup> In addition, a large number of South

---

Yale University Press, 1997): 3.

<sup>54</sup> Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994): 52.

<sup>55</sup> This relief is inscribed with the date of Shaka 1256 (AD1199-1200). It is presently placed within the Sagaram Soni Temple, Mount Girnar, although it was originally within a colonnaded cloister of the nearby Neminatha Temple. Schwartzberg, 1987, 295.

<sup>56</sup> Route maps focus on the routes and distances between two or more places. Geographical maps generally cover more details, including natural characteristics such as mountains and rivers, cities or towns, and other features of interest. Schwartzberg suggests that the paucity of South Asian material was due to several factors. Environmental and material factors probably caused disintegration of fragile paper and cloth maps. He also speculates that there was a fair amount of intentional destruction of maps or relevant texts, in order to falsify fiscal records. Schwartzberg also suggests that the Brahmins did not need detailed maps to know a place or route, which led to a scarcity of maps comparable to a lack of narrative histories in South Asia. Schwartzberg, 1987, 327.

<sup>57</sup> The City Museum of Jaipur contains a large collection of maps dating from the late-16<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among these, one illustrates a map with details of a proposed

Asian maps focus on religious space: cosmographies (such as the relief of the Nandishvara-dvipa), *vijnaptipatras* (invitation letters to eminent Jain monks to stay for the rainy season, with depictions of the places he could visit in the area), and *tirtha patas*.<sup>58</sup>

Geographical studies position Shatrunjaya *patas* in this tradition of maps depicting sacred spaces. Unlike cartographical analyses of European or Islamic maps, which focus on the collection method or accuracy of sources, these studies tend to emphasize the artistic and aesthetic qualities of the *patas*.<sup>59</sup> According to Schwartzberg, the aim of the artist is different, resulting in a map which is not quite a map. Schwartzberg suggests that since [religious maps'] authors' concern is not with the world of mundane experience, they tend to sublimate portions of the material landscape that are devoid of religious meaning (except insofar as it provides relevant context for the map user) and to highlight features of religious significance, which they characteristically portray in exaggerated scale and vivid hues, providing considerable detail, much of which conveys a strong iconographic message to the map user.<sup>60</sup>

As a result, the significance of Shatrunjaya *patas* as "maps," i.e. conceptual images of physical surroundings, is diminished, leaving further studies of the *patas* to art history (i.e., a less scientific discipline?).

---

canal near Jaipur. Another shows a proposed temple in Jaipur, just outside the palace. Gole, 1989, 198-199.

<sup>58</sup> The maps of Nathdwara and the Jagannath Temple at Puri present an interesting comparison to the Shatrunjaya *patas*, in that they all depict a major pilgrimage site. While more research is needed to view these maps in perspective, it does not seem possible to compare them with Shatrunjaya *patas* since both sites depict only one major temple, rather than an amalgamation of temples, and thus do not produce the topographical accuracy seen in Shatrunjaya *patas*.

<sup>59</sup> It is not clear whether Schwartzberg considers the patron, or the painter the "author" of religious maps.

<sup>60</sup> Schwartzberg, 1987, 452.

On the other hand, while Western art history has ventured into the realm of maps in/as art,<sup>61</sup> writings on South Asian art history have not yet discussed the art historical significance of maps in the tradition of paintings. Earlier cosmographies have been studied to understand the perceptions of space<sup>62</sup> but later Shatrunjaya *patas* have not garnered much attention, partially because art historians have too often avoided relatively recent works of art in South Asia. Where there has been interest in art of 19<sup>th</sup>-century South Asia, it has focused on artists and paintings featuring Western influence. In addition, the anonymity of the artist in most cases has further prevented the Shatrunjaya *pata* from establishing itself as art worthy of study. The ambiguity of the Shatrunjaya *patas* leaves them in a scholarly periphery, where no discipline is interested in the *patas* as representative of the significant issues in their own field, i.e. the rise of “modern” maps in South Asia or the reception of Western influence in South Asian art. By relegating the *patas* to a religious and spiritual category (in cartography) or a traditional and non-Western category (in art history), both disciplines support the colonial construction of India as the Other to the West, so that it “could be better packaged, subsumed, and ruled.”<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> For example, James A. Welu, “Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources,” in *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975): 529-47, Juergen Schulz, “Jacop de’Barbari’s View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500”, in *Art Bulletin* 60 (1987): 425-74, or Svetlana Alpers, “The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art,” in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward, (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987). An explosion of exhibitions on art and cartography shows this strong interest in maps in/as art, including “World Views: Maps and Art: 11 September 1999-2 January 2000” at the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota.

<sup>62</sup> For example, Collette Caillat and Ravi Kumar, *The Jain Cosmology*, (New Delhi; Paris: Ravi Kumar, Publishers Basel, 1981).

<sup>63</sup> Nicholas Dirks, “Foreword,” in Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): x.

The constructed idea of India as unchanging, traditional, spiritual, and timeless, in contrast to the West as progressive, enlightened and scientific, has been influential in South Asian art history as well as cartography. This is partly due to an accumulated historiography of South Asia, in which a colonial dichotomy of knowledge prevailed. Indigenous maps of South Asia are mostly ignored by historians of cartography because of the maps' abstract, religious subject matters and attention to aesthetic qualities rather than accuracy. On the other hand, colonially produced maps, or later indigenous maps which display the traits of modern maps, have become the focus of cartographic studies. Whether the mapmaker understood the objective nature of maps becomes an indicator of a "real" map, and the rationale for inclusion in cartographical studies. This notion of objectivity in maps is based on a distinctively Euro-centric notion of survey and cartography, in which maps are defined as a modern, *scientific* phenomenon, as "a supreme achievement of Western culture."<sup>64</sup> As with the history of architecture in South Asia, maps in South Asia are divided into either the realm of the traditional and indigenous (and thus with the implication of "deficient"), or the realm of the modern and Western (and thus "complete"). The history of South Asian maps has been described as a process of development, in which the traditional, "deficient" maps acquire the qualities of the modern, "complete" map.

This understanding has led to a focus on the colonially produced maps in studies of South Asian cartography. It is not possible, nor advisable, to underestimate the role of colonially produced maps in South Asia, since according to Benedict Anderson, colonial institutions such as the census, maps, and museums "profoundly shaped the way in which

---

<sup>64</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, "Maps and art: Identity and Utopia," in *World Views: Maps and Art*, (Minneapolis: Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum and University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 13.

the colonial state imagined its dominion—the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.”<sup>65</sup> And there are indeed a large number of these maps, because the British commissioned an increasing number of surveys to understand their newly acquired territories. While earlier surveys were directly linked to the acquisition and establishment of British military routes, later surveys were closely related to the creation of a revenue system, especially in Bengal. *The Surveys of Bengal by Major James Rennell 1764-1777* was made after the acquisition of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in 1765 and was probably used for the development of the Permanent Settlement Act, which was proclaimed in 1793 and formed the basis of future revenue systems in South Asia.<sup>66</sup>

Objectivity was the most distinctive feature of these modern maps produced by the British, and it was signified in several ways. Modern maps follow a system with predetermined methods of surveying and collecting cartographical information, and display it in a seemingly objective manner. Rather than focusing on routes or significant cities or sites, by placing masses of land within a grid of longitudinal and latitudinal spaces, the modern map seeks to produce a “neutral” view of the world. However, such “neutral” reproductions of the world are never neutral. While the Western knowledge system “has the appearance of being open to all” and apparently follows an absolute coordinate system that operates “outside the limits of our [Western] culture,”<sup>67</sup> the

<sup>65</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised and extended ed., (London; New York: Verso, 1991): 164.

<sup>66</sup> James Rennell, the creator of *The Surveys of Bengal*, was appointed the first Surveyor-General by the Governor Robert Clive, which shows the close relationship between cartography and the colonial power. P.L. Madan, *Indian Cartography: A Historical Perspective*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997): 75.

<sup>67</sup> David Turnbull, *Maps are Territories*, (Geelong: Deakin University Press, 1989): 42.

production of maps conspire to mask their interests and “naturalize” the system of thought behind these productions. As a result, modern maps as forms of knowledge and thus power are presented as objective representations of the world. Thus, when the colonial surveys of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries proclaimed British power and sovereignty over India, it was through the use of objective and scientific means, i.e. the modern map.

The wealthy Jain merchants of Western India were probably aware of these modern British maps. According to John Cort,

The interaction between the Jains and Europeans has been similarly complex, ... at the socioeconomic level, as Jains were among the Indian merchants with whom the Europeans had their earliest dealings. It has operated at the sociopolitical level, as Jains for several centuries had to deal with the British as colonial overlords, a relationship in which the Jains' social location as bankers, traders, merchants, and eventually textile mill owners brought them into close association with the economic side of the Raj. Finally, it has been an ideological interaction, as in the past century-and-a-half, the Jains have had to respond both to evangelical Christian missionaries and to the full discourse of modernity, enlightenment thought and the scientific method.<sup>68</sup>

Jain merchants and bankers were also known to have accompanied and aided the British army in their campaigns across the subcontinent during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in which military maps and route maps were probably available.<sup>69</sup> However, without sufficient written evidence, it is not clear whether the Jains' knowledge of actual modern maps translated directly into an understanding of modern maps, for example, the implications of modern ownership. While it is possible to assume that there was a change in the understanding of space and ownership among the Jains as apparent from the changes in

---

<sup>68</sup> John E. Cort, *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998): 7.

<sup>69</sup> Several letters from British officials praising the help of Jains were provided by the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi during the legal case of the ownership of Shatrunjaya. These letters were used as evidence that Jains had been loyal to the British rule. *Palitana Jain Case*, Ahmedabad: City Printing Press, 1926.

the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Shatrunjaya *patas*, it would be a leap in thinking that these changes (of the understanding, as well as the changes within the *patas* themselves) were largely due to the Jains' knowledge of Western maps.

It is more likely that the changes in Shatrunjaya *patas* were caused by the changes in the Jain community, and their understanding of Western maps serves as a confirmation of the direction of changes. I.e., rather than duplicating systems of the Western map, the later Shatrunjaya *patas* make only selective changes. If indeed the Western map became a paradigm of depicting a site as a demonstration of knowledge and thus ownership, then the Shatrunjaya *patas* should have incorporated the objectivity (i.e. the scale, symbols, orientation) of the modern Western map, rather than maintain the pictorial representations of traditional maps. However, the absolute scale was not incorporated in any of the Shatrunjaya *patas*.<sup>70</sup> Correspondingly, the Main Adishvara Temple is always depicted as the largest temple on Shatrunjaya in spite of its size (in reality almost identical with the Chaumukh Temple on the northern summit, a temple which is always depicted as much smaller in the *patas*) and distance (farthest away from the viewer). In a similar manner, instead of following a specific orientation, the Shatrunjaya *patas* all feature the Main Adishvara Temple on the top of the *pata*, with the town of Palitana at the lowest part. Also compared to modern Western maps, which project a notion of “emptiness” with only geographical features represented by cartographical symbols, later Shatrunjaya *patas* are filled with pilgrims. According to Harley, the graphic nature of the modern map, as well as absence of populace within the map, “gave its imperial users an arbitrary power that was easily divorced from the social responsibilities and consequences of its exercise.

---

<sup>70</sup> According to Gole, most traditional South Asian maps do not follow an absolute scale; the “scale of importance” is of more significance to the Indian cartographer. Gole, 1989, 14.

The world could be carved up in paper.”<sup>71</sup> However, the later Shatrunjaya *patas* do not follow these principles, in spite of showing the Jains’ desire to view Shatrunjaya as it is. This indicates that rather than simply being influenced by the Western modern map, the later Shatrunjaya *patas* were expected to have different standards by their viewers.

### What Did Patrons Expect in a Shatrunjaya *Pata*?

As the focal point of communal worship, the later Shatrunjaya *pata* had to fulfill several requirements. It had to be large in order to be viewed by a congregation. Shatrunjaya, the most significant site for Jains during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, needed to be the focal point of the *pata*. Each component of the *pata* had to be clear enough to be recognized as an individual element at the actual site, which led to the common understanding that the Jains indeed know (and own) the site. The context was needed, and thus provided, since it established the existence of Palitana “outside” the sacred site. However, in spite of these attributes of a modern map that can be seen in later Shatrunjaya *patas*, there also remained traditional features, for example, the rejection of absolute scale, orientation, and symbols. This reflected an understanding of Shatrunjaya as a sacred space, in which the language of modern cartography was neither needed nor appreciated. The countless pilgrims in the later Shatrunjaya *patas* indicate that the site was a constantly active site, although this was partially true for only a maximum of eight months a year.<sup>72</sup> In a similar manner, the inclusion of the new temples within the *patas*

---

<sup>71</sup> Harley, 1988, 282.

<sup>72</sup> Most Jains comply with the prohibition against climbing the mountain during the four months of the rainy season. Even during the pilgrimage season, there are only several days when the site is truly crowded as in the Shatrunjaya *patas*; these include festival days around Kartika Purnima (October/November) or Akshaya Tritiya (May).

also indicates that Shatrunjaya was a consistently occupied site, and that Shatrunjaya was a continuously living entity.

The later Shatrunjaya *patas*, with their seemingly conflicting features, can be seen as self-portraits of the Jain community. The Jain patrons expected Shatrunjaya to be depicted as both a sacred space as well as a physically recognizable place. In order to represent a sacred space, the *patas* employed a distorted scale and orientation in addition to traditional elements of *tirtha patas* (such as the pictorial side views of temples). On the other hand, more details of the site were added as decipherable elements. New temples were consistently added to the *patas*, since they represented the worshipers' continuous use of Shatrunjaya, while also displaying the viewers' constant participation and involvement with the site. The changes seen in the *tirtha patas* and Shatrunjaya *patas* reflect the changes in how the Jain community viewed their most sacred and significant site, seeing it as a concrete and physical site, not just one of the multiple, abstract, mythical pilgrimage sites. This trend is continued in contemporary *patas*, where we can see temples of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries portrayed next to older ones. The final chapter discusses the major catalyst for these changes: the series of legal cases on the ownership of Shatrunjaya, and how these cases shifted the understanding of ownership and religion in the histories of the site.

## **Chapter 6. The Ownership of Shatrunjaya and the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi**

*The Ahmedabad office of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi is located in a quiet, residential street off the major roads. The main offices, filled with busy clerks typing, writing, and stamping documents, are in a low bungalow-style building. Off to another side is a smaller office, where I was asked to wait for the general manager. The first time I met Mr. Shah, the general manager, he mentioned that he had seen me before. He remembered seeing me in Palitana six months ago; that was the first time I had visited Shatrunjaya. My visit had coincided with consecration ceremonies of a new temple below the hill, and I had been to one of the ceremonies with a friend. Two foreigners (my friend is German) stood out at the ceremonies, he added, even in salwar kameez. Also, apparently there were some concerns among a few Jains about non-believers at a ceremony, which was another reason he remembered our presence there.*

*After listening to my inquiries on the history and role of the Pedhi, he remained guarded but courteous, providing books, maps, and introductions. A few weeks later, once he had the chance to review my thesis proposal, he agreed to an interview, although it was clearly stated as off-record and only for my personal information. Throughout our occasional meetings, Mr. Shah emphasized that the Pedhi was not interested in making money or advertising itself; it only existed to manage sacred sites, i.e. to maintain them as worthy of worship. Shatrunjaya was the most important of the Pedhi's responsibilities, and since my research was focused on the site, he requested a copy of the dissertation once it was finished. Considering the history of the site, in which writings of scholars occupied quite a significant role as legal evidence, I probably should have expected the*

*Pedhi to make this request. This request was repeated at another interview I had with four trustees, before I was allowed to take photographs of some 19<sup>th</sup>-century Pedhi documents. I promised to do so, though with slight unease, hoping that the end-product would be acceptable to the trustees and not limit future researchers' work on the Pedhi or Shatrunjaya. I may have been naïve to consider that my research would have such impact. However, while the only visible role of the Pedhi (to passing tourists) is selling photography permits at pilgrimage sites or temples, the trustees of the Pedhi are spread throughout the Jain community of Ahmedabad, with much influence over institutes such as the LD Institute of Indology, a center for research in Jainology (and named after Lalbai Dalpatbhai, a descendant of Shantidas Jhaveri and the later Nagarsheths of Ahmedabad).<sup>1</sup> I did not want to be responsible for future (foreign/non-Jain/female/scholarship-endowed) researchers' difficulties in acquiring material or information at these institutions. As the writing progressed the anxiety decreased, but the question remained; whose approval was I seeking? Whose approval am I seeking?*

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the site of Shatrunjaya went through an extraordinary series of legal cases. It first began in 1820 when Motichand Amichand (popularly known as Motishah, the patron of Motishah Tunk at Shatrunjaya) petitioned the British Government in Bombay regarding the actions of the Palitana Thakur Kandaji IV, the ruler of the area surrounding Shatrunjaya. Although this particular case was quickly resolved, several cases were filed by the Jains and the rulers of Palitana against each

---

<sup>1</sup> Nagarsheth became an official title in 1704, when Khushalchand Lakshmidhanda (grandson of Shantidas Jhaveri and ancestor of Lalbai Dalpatbhai) paid a ransom to the Maratha army to avoid their sacking of Ahmedabad. In return, the city leaders of all religions presented this title to him and his descendants. Tripathi, 1981, 30-31.

other over the next hundred years. While the first case was a complaint about the Thakur's actions, the following cases quickly shifted their focus to the definition and rights of ownership of Shatrunjaya. The cases were taken to progressively higher-ranking British authorities, including the Viceroys, as the Jains made every effort to have the highest authority possible review each case. Finally, the last case was settled in 1926 and remained legally binding until 1947, when the Princely States acceded to the Union of India and the Thakur relinquished his rights to collect revenue.

This chapter examines the series of legal cases, and how they changed the understanding of Shatrunjaya. The cases first provided powerful incentive to the Jains to investigate their traditional knowledge of the site, which would aid their arguments in the legal processes. In addition, due to the extremely public nature of the disputes,<sup>2</sup> the cases played a pivotal role in the formation of the Shvetambara Murtipujak Jain community in western India. In spite of the diversity among Jains in India, Shatrunjaya provided a locus through which this community could express its own identity.<sup>3</sup> However, this "Jain"

---

<sup>2</sup> By the time of the last case, 1926, the conflict between the Jains and the Thakur was being closely covered by Indian as well as English press. For example, *The Bombay Samachar* covered the case with headlines such as "The raid on the Jain holy Shatrunjaya." English newspapers such as the *Bombay Chronicle*, *Times of India*, *Englishman* (Calcutta), *Pioneer* (Allahabad), and *Times* (of London) included articles on the case. This led to British officials' complaints that the Jains were using newspapers to promote their "propaganda." In addition to the pro-Jain articles, several demonstrations and *bandh* (strikes) were organized in large cities including Bombay, protesting the government's decisions favoring the Thakur. Desai, vol. II, 1983, 318.

<sup>3</sup> According to Andrea Luithle, the Shvetambara Jains in western India maintain their group identity through pilgrimage to sacred places, especially Shatrunjaya. Currently there are more than 120 *dharamshalas* (pilgrimage hostels) in Palitana which are organized following two principles: the region and local caste of the worshiper, and the ascetic branch (*gaccha* or *samuday*). Liuthle argues that these *dharamshalas* represent the various identities related to caste and sect affiliation among the Jains who gather to worship at Shatrunjaya. However, she also argues that the pilgrims' collective and individual experiences at Shatrunjaya enables a sense of identity that brings the Shvetambara community together as one. Andrea Luithle, "The Pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya, Salvation and Identity in Practice," Paper presented at the 7<sup>th</sup> Jaina Studies Workshop, SOAS, London, March 18, 2005.

identity was not a natural or true expression of a community. In this chapter, I argue that it was a 19<sup>th</sup>-century creation of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, or rather, the leading members of the Pedhi. Due to their prominent roles in the legal cases, the members of the Pedhi became firmly established as the leaders within this newly imagined community, and formed the identity of this religious community.

This identity was irrevocably connected with Shatrunjaya and the changes caused by the legal cases during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One change was the rise of the Pedhi, which was accompanied with the creation of a legal constitution defining the Pedhi as a religious trust. Besides the notions of constituted trusts, British concepts of ownership and rights were gradually accepted and appropriated by the Jain patrons throughout the series of legal cases. However, these concepts were part of an inherently contradictory foreign framework, based on a Western understanding of property, history, and religion. The acceptance of this framework caused severe changes in the ways that the Jains viewed Shatrunjaya and their own religion. These changes necessitated a legal definition of the site, and Jainism also needed to be systematically authenticated and presented. As a result, the Pedhi came to assume an additional role during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; in addition to managing the site of Shatrunjaya, it also regulated the views of the site and religion, i.e. histories of Shatrunjaya and the identity of its own Jain community. In order to understand this new role, the following section first examines the changes in the notion of ownership.

#### Notions of “Ownership”: Pre-1820

The earliest records of Shatrunjaya’s legal ownership can be dated to the Mughal

period from 1589 to 1659. Altogether twelve *farmans* regarding Jains and their pilgrimage sites were issued by five consecutive Mughal rulers: Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Murad Baksh (son of Shah Jahan and self-proclaimed emperor between 1658-59), and Aurangzeb. (Appendix B. The Mughal *farmans*) All *farmans* remain as documents within the collection of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.

A couple of facts can be gleaned from the Mughal records. With the exception of the final *farman* (Appendix B, #12, 1659),<sup>4</sup> all of the grants are worded in a generic manner with emphasis on the munificence of the Mughal emperors. First, although the records “grant” and “bestow” the site, this did not indicate ownership, but rather the rights to collect revenue. According to the records, Shatrunjaya—or, Palitana, which includes the hill of Shatrunjaya—was “granted” and “bestowed” to the Jain ascetic Hiravijayasuri (Appendix B, #2) or Shantidas Jhaveri and his descendants (Appendix B, #4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12). These lands were considered outside the normal revenue system and given to in return for their services to the emperor, whether spiritual (as Hiravijayasuri) or material (as Shantidas Jhaveri). During Akbar’s reign, there are several other instances in which tax-free revenue grants (*madad-i ma’ash*) were given to non-Muslim grantees, with

---

<sup>4</sup> There is a possibility that this final grant, conferred by Aurangzeb to Shantidas’ son Lakshmidchand in 1659, may be a forgery. The seal (*toghra*) as well as the phrasing is distinctly different from earlier grants of Aurangzeb. For example, the Jains are mentioned as “Srawaks,” a term not seen in *farmans* granted just a year earlier, while the year is also dated according to the Hijra Era, rather than the year of accession. Also, unlike the earlier grants which simply conferred the *pargana* (administrative unit) of Palitana to Shantidas, this includes details of the grant such as the use of timber and grass, and that the “local Rajas” should not interfere with the Jains’ business. This particular *farman* was discovered in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with three other *farmans* of a completely different nature (#8, #10, #11) which focus on the repayment of Murad Bakhsh’s loan from Shantidas. It is highly doubtful that the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi had such a detailed *farman* without using it for their defense during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century; rather, it is possible that this *farman* was forged and “accidentally” discovered with the three other *farmans*, in order to provide additional evidence for the case. The inclusion of timber and grass became an issue in the legal case of 1886, which makes one more wary of the sudden discovery.

phrasing similar to the *farmans* issued to the Jains.<sup>5</sup> As a “tax-free” grant, the *farmans* strongly stressed that the local administrators and landowners should not harass the grantees for tax nor interfere with anyone on pilgrimage.

Second, the Mughal rulers granted the site to an individual, not a community. On one hand, Akbar’s *farman* states that “the places of the (followers of the) Jain Setambari religion” are nominally given to Hiravijayasuri, with the understanding that actual owners will be “the followers of the Jain Setambari religion.”<sup>6</sup> The phrasing may have been due to Akbar’s knowledge that Jain ascetics such as Hiravijayasuri could not possess anything, a fact that is recognized in the *Ain-i Akbari*.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, in all other examples the *farmans* indicate Shantidas and his descendants as the recipients of the “perpetual” grants. There is no mention of Shantidas as representative of the Jains; rather, the *farmans* explain that the grant was conferred because Shantidas, “by virtue of his fidelity and loyalty, has received the blessing of an audience [of the emperor].”<sup>8</sup>

Also, it is made clear through the phrasing of the later *farmans* that Shantidas insisted on having new *farmans* issued with the accession of a new emperor.<sup>9</sup> In each

---

<sup>5</sup> According to John Richards, a grant given to a Saivite *mahant* (a ruling master of a sect) was made because he had been “honored with admittance to the imperial court.” In return, the *mahant* was to “remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty while sustaining himself year after year with the entire produce from that (land).” John Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 92.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix B, #2.

<sup>7</sup> “[The ascetic] may have no worldly goods, but only necessary raiment.” Abul Fazl Allami, *The Ain i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H.S. Jarrett, Vol. III (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1907): Section 48. (From *The Packard Humanities Institute: Persian Texts in Translation* at <http://persian.packhum.org/persian/>, accessed August 4, 2006)

<sup>8</sup> Appendix B, #8.

<sup>9</sup> In spite of the reassurance that there will be no need to issue a new grant every year, it seems that Shantidas specifically requested the new emperors to issue a grant for the records. For example, “we confirm to the said Satidas [*sic*] and to his descendants the Enam or Gift he held by former Sunnud and a Royal patent” in Appendix B, #7; “he (the petitioner) [Shantidas] therefore hope that a glorious edict may also be granted by our Court” in Appendix B, #9.

case, Shantidas' wishes were promptly respected, probably because of the Mughals' need to maintain an amicable relationship between the empire and the Jain financier, who was a significant source of wealth.<sup>10</sup> These requests may have been made because Shantidas was concerned about the outcome of the succession wars between Shah Jahan's sons, i.e. Dara Shikoh, Murad Bakhsh (then governor of Gujarat) and Aurangzeb. Also, earlier events during Jahangir's reign illustrated that *farmans* granted for perpetuity were not always the case in practicality.<sup>11</sup> The requests for renewed grants display that Shantidas was clearly aware of the actual limits of his grants, and the possibility that they may be rescinded or overruled by the successors or subordinates of each emperor. In fact, these guarantees of the Mughal rulers soon turned out to be worthless, because the rule of the Palitana Thakurs became the principal threat to the Jains' right to worship at Shatrunjaya.

### The Jains and the Thakurs

The Palitana Thakurs, i.e. the local rulers of Palitana, were descendants of Gohil Rajputs, a branch of the Sisodias of Mewar. In spite of their claimed heritage dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that the Thakurs' ancestors established themselves in Gariadhar, a small town 30 kilometers west of Palitana only during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and

<sup>10</sup> Several records indicate that the Mughal princes borrowed large amounts of money from Shantidas. For example, apparently Shantidas asked Aurangzeb, after his accession to the throne, to repay the money that Murad Baksh (Aurangzeb's brother, and rival to the throne) had borrowed from himself and his partners. Aurangzeb granted his request in two following *farmans*, stating that his orders be followed "without any delay and hesitation." (Appendix B, #10 and #11)

<sup>11</sup> For example, several incidents in which the Jains gained or lost favors of the emperor are recorded during the reign of Jahangir. According to Jain literature, Jahangir admired Jain *munis* but in two incidents exiled all Jain ascetics to the forest (1612 and 1618); it is not mentioned in any Mughal sources whether these orders were withdrawn, but Pushpa Prasad argues that according to the subsequent letters, *farmans* and inscriptions, these expulsions were only short-term orders which were soon rescinded. Again, none of these are mentioned in Mughal sources, not even Jahangir's memoirs. Pushpa Prasad, "Jahangir and Jains: Study Based on Jain Historical Sources and Inscription," *Islamic Culture* LVI, no. 1 (1982): 37-42.

soon moved to Palitana.<sup>12</sup> During the Mughal period, Palitana was considered an administrative unit (*pargana*) within the district (*sarkar*) of Sorath (Saurashtra); it is most likely that the Thakurs served there as petty landowners (*zamindars*) or officials. The Thakurs probably gained hereditary rule over Palitana with the rise of the Marathas, who were more interested in collecting tributes from rulers and cities in Gujarat than in establishing direct Maratha rule. However, the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1802-1805) brought most of the Maratha dominion in Gujarat under British rule. After the British established the Political Agency of Kathiawar, the Thakur of Palitana was accepted as a ruler in his own rights. Later the Thakur was classified as a “Second Class Chieftain.”<sup>13</sup>

A document dated to 1651 describes the earliest relationship between the Jains and the Thakurs during the Mughal period. At this time, Thakur Gohil Kandhaji (either II or III) signed an agreement regarding the protection of the Jain pilgrims. (Appendix E, #1) According to this agreement, the Thakur would be paid to guard the temples on the hill and protect the pilgrims, who were easy targets for bandits and robbers due to their vow of extreme non-violence (*ahimsa*).<sup>14</sup> Within this document, Kandhaji stated that he would collect money according to the number of persons and carts, although he would not collect any “malnoo,” which seems to be a levy on the goods. It is not clear whether this contract was supposed to be legally binding for a specific pilgrimage being

<sup>12</sup> Government of Gujarat, ed., *Bhavnagar District: Gujarat State Gazetteers*, (Ahmedabad: Government Printing, 1969): 602. It is ironic to see that both the Palitana Thakurs and the descendants of Jain merchant Shantidas Jhaveri claimed descent from the Sisodias of Mewar, a prominent Rajput dynasty.

<sup>13</sup> The classes of chieftains was designated in 1863. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII Kathiawar*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1884): 314.

<sup>14</sup> According to the document, the Thakur signed that “we perform the “Chowkee Pora” [watch and guard] of the Shri Shetrunga and do the “Chowkee Pora” of the “Sungh” [a band of pilgrims] therefore on that account “Purth” [stipulation] has been concluded with Shah Santidas Seskurn and Rutna Sura and the whole of the Sungh (Community).” Appendix E, #1.

performed by Shantidas, or for all pilgrims during a fixed period.<sup>15</sup> However, since there are a couple of later references to the payment of a protection fee, it is likely that this contract was the first among others which prescribed regular payments towards the Thakur.<sup>16</sup>

Although there are no other remaining contracts between the Thakurs and the Jains until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, later histories indicate that the relationship between the two parties was probably not always cordial. This was most likely caused by financial conflicts. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Thakurs were involved in various struggles among the local rulers and the Maratha powers, which led to their virtual bankruptcy. Around 1809, Thakur Unadji (r. ? - 1820) leased his entire territory of Palitana to Vakhatchand Khushalchand, the current Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad, and descendant of Shantidas.<sup>17</sup> Since this lease is only known through later descriptions, the terms are not clear apart from the amount of payment and period. However, according to British officers who

---

<sup>15</sup> The contract does not specify a length of period, which opens the possibility that this agreement was only for the protection of Shantidas' pilgrimage. According to the contract, the Thakur will guard "the Sangh" coming to Shatrunjaya, which may be Shantidas' group of pilgrims. However the contract also mentions "large Sunghs and Sungh of Chutias and those coming on foot"; it is possible that in addition to Shantidas' *sangh*, several other groups were coming to Shatrunjaya at the same time. This was still a common practice during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when several *sanghs* from Ahmedabad joined Bombay merchant Motishah and his *sangh* for consecration ceremonies.

<sup>16</sup> According to Candy, it is mentioned that "this rate of extraction [for a protection fee] continued until Samvat 1845 (A.D. 1788) when it was greatly increased"; however, there are no other documents that support this claim, apart from a brief note by Captain Barnwell, who was the Political Agent of Kathiawar in 1820. Barnwell mentioned that the Thakur had hired Arab mercenaries to protect the Jains and collect the protection fee from 1818, which indicates a continuous collection. E.T. Candy, "Mr. Candy's Report," in *The Palitana Jain Case*, (Ahmedabad: City Printing Press, 1926): 6.

<sup>17</sup> It is said that Vakhatchand paid Unadji Rs. 42,001/annum for the lease; however, the revenue that was collected from the area later exceeded Rs. 200,000, providing huge profits for Vakhatchand. J.B. Peile, "Letter from J.B. Peile, Esq. Political Agent Kattywar to C. Gonre, Esq. Secretary to Government Political Department, Bombay, No. 5, of 1876, dated 6<sup>th</sup> January 1876," in *The Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 70.

investigated the history of the Thakurs, Unadji let out the area in lieu of the amount he had owed to Vakhatchand. With this lease, Vakhatchand also obtained some of the Thakur's rights (including collection of revenue), becoming the principal authority in Palitana. The lease was canceled by the Thakur in 1843 after suffering much loss in authority and revenue, when Pratapsingji, the great-grandson of Unadji, managed to repay the debts and regained control of the Thakur's territory.<sup>18</sup> The duration of this lease coincides closely with the most active period of architectural patronage at Shatrunjaya, i.e. from 1820 to 1840, when most of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century temples were built on the site. Jain control of the area probably contributed significantly to the thriving patronage provided at this time.

#### The Jains, the Thakurs, and the British

The British first became involved in a dispute between the Jains and the Thakur after the establishment of the Political Agency of Kathiawar (1820). The first petition regarding Shatrunjaya was submitted to the Bombay Government in 1820 by Motishah, while Palitana was still under the lease of Vakhatchand. The subjects of this petition were complaints against the Thakur's proposed increase of a protection fee and the conduct of

---

<sup>18</sup> Thakur Unadji died in 1820 and was succeeded by Kandhaji IV (r. 1820-1840). During Kandhaji's rule, the lease was renewed with Vakhatchand's son Hemachand (1831). Noghanji III succeeded Kandhaji, without making any changes to the lease. However, his son Pratapsingji (who was fulfilling most of his father's duties) managed to repay the debt and cancel the lease in 1843-44. According to the British Gazetteers, "much enmity arose between the chiefs and the Jain Nagar Sheth owing to this protracted occupation of the *talukah* and its revenues by the latter, and the consequent relegation of the Thakors to a subordinate position." *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII Kathiawar*, 1884, 604-605.

the “Arab” soldiers stationed on the hill by the Thakur.<sup>19</sup> This indicates that while the Thakur had leased his rights to collect revenue, he was still collecting money for protection from the Jains. However, in descriptions of the petition and counter-argument of both sides, there are no references to ownership of Shatrunjaya. Motishah’s petition requested “the restoration of the *pargana* and sacred hill agreeably to the grant by the Padsha Murad Baksh”; the Thakur argued that “he always had owned the right to take the tax, and place the guard on the hill.”<sup>20</sup> The subsequent agreement, which was presented as evidence during the following years, indicates that the Bombay Government dispatched this case to R. Barnewell, the Political Agent of Kathiawar, who settled it.(Appendix E, #2) According to this agreement, which was renewable, the Jains were to pay Rs. 4500 per annum to the Thakur as a “protection fee” for ten years.

While the original petition and response do not remain, the agreement of 1821 and accounts of British officers display the concepts of rights that were used by the three parties involved: the Thakur, the Jains, and the British. The Thakur emphasized his hereditary rights, which enabled him to impose taxes and place guards.<sup>21</sup> The Jains in

---

<sup>19</sup> As with the lease of 1820, the actual documents of this petition and the Thakur’s response do not remain in any archives. Everything about this petition is known through later descriptions, mostly accounts of British officers who were investigating this case. In other references, the soldiers are mentioned as “sepoy.” As a result, it is not clear whether the “Arab” soldiers were actually Arabs, although they were probably Muslim mercenaries who were paid by the Thakur to patrol Shatrunjaya.

<sup>20</sup> E.T. Candy, 1926, 6.

<sup>21</sup> According to Colonel Walker’s Settlement of Kathiawar Tributaries (1807), the “Chiefs” paid financial and political tribute to the Gaekwar of Baroda, whom they acknowledged as their paramount power. In response, the Gaekwar guaranteed the security and rights of the chiefs’ and their successors. The amount of the tribute was renewed every ten years. Campbell, 1989, 423. This continued until 1863, when the Political Agent of Kathiawar Colonel Keatinge reorganized the “Chiefs” into seven classes with varying degrees of jurisdiction. In 1925, the classes were abolished, and the Thakur, with other “Salute States,” were placed under the administrative control of the Governor-General of India. M.N. Mehta ed., *The Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in the Western India States Agency*, (Rajkot: Western India States Agency

turn argued for the restoration of the Mughal order, in spite of the fact that Mughal authority had long been ineffective in Palitana. As they had gone directly to the emperors to assure protection of their site during the Mughal period, the Jains also petitioned directly to the British Government in Bombay, the highest authority in western India. They probably expected that the British, who had taken the role of the Mughals in northern India, would consider to emulate the Mughals in their decisions. Also, as astute observers, the Jains may have recognized the fact that the alleged “autonomy” of the indigenous rulers could be easily overruled by the British, if they found the need to do so.

However, the British were reluctant to take either the role of colonial enforcer or Mughal emperor. Instead of intervening, the Bombay Government dispatched this case to the Political Agent (P.A.) of Kathiawar, who was the immediate official overseeing Palitana. In his letters, P.A. Barnewell recommended that the Thakur may be persuaded to accept new terms if a meeting was arranged with the (higher-ranking) Political Agent of the Gaekwar's territories; he obviously wanted the Gaekwar of Baroda (to whom the Palitana Thakur paid tributes) to pressure the Thakur, rather than do so himself on behalf of the British. In addition to the reluctance in dealing with this case, the final agreement also limited its contents to the payment of “dues.” As there was no mention of ownership, there were no further questions regarding the rights of the owner. Also, in the course of this case, both the Thakur and the Jains recognized their misunderstandings of British policies. On one hand, the Thakur had to figure out that in spite of British guarantees of power, his power had limits as long as he acted the role of the “native despot.” He needed to follow legal procedures even when asserting his legitimate privileges. On the other

---

Press, 1928): 1, 11.

hand, the Jains had to realize that the British would not act as the Mughal emperors; requests in lieu of loyalty or gains (material or spiritual) were no longer recognized. The British would not simply “grant a favor” or “bestow the rights” of Shatrunjaya for a Jain’s (or group of Jains’) financial service or loyalty. The conflict was now to be argued “in the language of the colonizers.”<sup>22</sup> As a result, in subsequent disputes, both parties displayed significant changes in their approaches, especially with the rise of the notion of ownership.

The notion of ownership only appears later in the cases of Shatrunjaya. In 1836, there are records that the Thakur argued “the ground of the hill is mine,” although he reportedly rescinded this claim the next year.<sup>23</sup> However in 1861, when Thakur Noghanji IV died and his son Sursinghji (r. 1861-1885) ascended the throne, he requested that a new agreement be drawn up since the deed of 1821 had been automatically renewed for 40 years. He demanded that Rs. 10,000 per year should be paid as a pilgrimage “tax,” rather than a protection fee. He also demanded that the Jains pay for the land on Shatrunjaya whenever they built a new temple since the site was located within his territory. These claims were now based on the reasoning that it was never his ancestors’ intent to be paid to protect the Jains. The fee, he argued, was a tax that the Jains should pay as duty to the ruler. He also argued that “the hill was ours”; this was the basis for his demand that the Jains provide payment whenever they build a new temple on

---

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Dirks, “From Little King to Landlord,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992): 202.

<sup>23</sup> According to Candy, the Thakur sent a Gujarati letter, dated 27<sup>th</sup> January 1836, to the Political Agent. This argued that “on the hill they [the Jains] build temple after temple. Now it is my custom to take a royalty for every fresh foot and for every image set up; but they do not give me a penny, nor even do they ask my permission. The ground of the hill is mine.” The Jains argued that the Thakur withdrew this letter the next year. Candy, 1926, 9.

Shatrunjaya.<sup>24</sup> The Thakur was now clearly aware of his position and accompanying rights within the hierarchy of rule; at this time, Palitana was classified as a Second Class State, giving the Thakur sovereignty over his dominion and thus the rights to tax his subjects, as well as the power of civil jurisdiction and capital punishment.

The British responses in 1863 show that they were not eager to overrule the Thakur's rights. Keatinge specifically objected to interfering in the conflict, arguing that

our interferences and guarantees in favour of the Shrawak Bania class [Jains] in Palitana have been most constant and not altogether beneficial. The present Chieftain [Sursinghji] is young and exceedingly well disposed. The estate is flourishing and out of debt. The Shrawaks' influence in Kattywar is opposed to all advance and to the influx of Europeans into the country. I, therefore, strongly recommend Government to leave the young Thakore alone in this matter.<sup>25</sup>

In his 1863 Decision, Keatinge again emphasized the Thakur's jurisdiction, ruling that "he governs his own territory and under ordinary circumstances would make his own rules for the taxation of the pilgrims and for their admission to the Shetrunga hill within his boundary." Responding to the Jains' request to intervene, he argued that their basis of argument, i.e. the Mughal *farmans* conferring the hill to Shantidas, and the fact that the lease of 1821 was meant for perpetuity, were both not valid.<sup>26</sup> However, as a result of "the political status of the Chief of Palitana on the one hand and on the other the consideration due to the **devout feelings of a large and influential sect** [my emphasis]," he suggested a new contract, in which the Jains would pay Rs. 10,000 yearly as a "Pilgrim Tax" and no more, and this amount could be revised every ten years.

---

<sup>24</sup> Candy, 1926, 11.

<sup>25</sup> R.H. Keatinge, "Report under date 15<sup>th</sup> April 1863 No. 1146," in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 146.

<sup>26</sup> He argues that the period of the Mughal *farman* was a "period of utter anarchy," thus the *farman* would have been ineffective. With the aid of translators, he refutes the Jains' claims that the 1821 Deed was meant for perpetuity. R.H. Keatinge, "Decision," in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 138-139.

Neither the Jains, nor the Thakur, was happy with this decision, and a flurry of petitions were sent to the various Political Agents from both parties. The Thakur was upset with the infringement on his rights to tax his subjects. Further appeals by the Thakur argued that the Jains had cheated him in their payments and in their assessment of the number of pilgrims, which would determine the amount of pilgrimage tax at the time of the next negotiation. The Jains' petitions complained about the Thakur's placement of Arab guards, his demand for "ground rent," and finally, the Thakur's claims to the land within the enclosures. This final petition, in which the Jains argued that they did not have to obtain the Thakur's permission to build new temples, led to a full discussion about the ownership of the land. The definition of enclosure was questioned, whether it meant the boundary of a temple, a *tunk*, or the *gudh* (fortification wall) surrounding the two summits and valley of Shatrunjaya Hill.<sup>27</sup> However, by this time, the Jains were aware of the differences between the Mughal emperors' system and the British system. They were prepared, and rather than presenting vague statements, they argued the case by providing evidence to their claims. A hearing was ordered to be held in Rajkot in 1875. At the hearing, historical documents, religious texts, as well as two Jain ascetics were presented as proof/witnesses to the Jain ownership of the site.<sup>28</sup>

In order to settle this new question of ownership, E.T. Candy, Acting Judicial Assistant to the Political Agent in Kathiawar, prepared a 62-page report on the issue in 1875. After reviewing the various petitions from both sides, Candy concluded that the land within the *gudh* on Shatrunjaya hill belonged to the Jains, and thus the Thakur had no rights to demand payment when a new temple is built within the *gudh*. However, it is

---

<sup>27</sup> Candy, 1926, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Desai, vol. II, 1983, 17-20.

not this conclusion that is most significant in Candy's report. Following an analysis of the historical facts, Candy questioned

what is exactly meant by "private property" and "ownership." In the Regulated Districts of the Bombay Presidency a field is the property of the occupant. He is the owner, he may sell it just as he does his bullocks, he may sow in it any crop he chooses, may do anything he likes with it in connection with agriculture; but if he wishes to appropriate the land to any purpose unconnected with agriculture, he has first to obtain the permission of the Collector. This appears to me to be an illustration of the position of the parties in this suit. Whatever may be the exact words used in one or two of the grants made by the Mogul authorities there is nothing to show that the Jains ever enjoyed any possession more than what was connected with **religious purposes** [my emphasis]. That certainly was their status at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement [in 1807] and it is clear that they then admitted the jurisdiction of the Thakore of Palitana who levied from their pilgrims certain taxes. So far, then, they are the owners of the Shatrunjay Hill and no one can lawfully obstruct them from appropriating the land in their enjoyment to any purpose connected with their religion.<sup>29</sup>

Thus Candy determined that the foundation of the Jains' claims to Shatrunjaya lay in not the Mughal authorities or any other contract, but the fact that the Jains had been, and were still using the site for "religious purposes." Extending this logic, Candy determined that the shrines of non-Jain nature (e.g. the Muslim Angar Pir Shrine on the northern summit) were not the property of the Jains. On the other hand, the Thakur could not sell the land even if he wanted to, since he was not the one using it. However, as the sovereign of the district, he had all rights to collect taxes on the pilgrims or for building new temples outside the *gudh*, as long as they were not prohibitive.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Candy, 1926, 60. It would be interesting to see how the Permanent Settlement in Bengal (1793) and following developments had affected the thoughts of British officials regarding this case.

<sup>30</sup> According to Candy, "as sovereign of the district, [the Thakur] has power to levy within his own jurisdiction such taxes as he pleases, and therefore he may impose a building tax just as the Municipality in Bombay levies 'similar taxes or fees for permitting private land-owners to build on their own estates.'" However, Candy also adds, that this particular power is only conferred by

By the 1880s, armed with a modern constitution, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi had become the legal representative of the Jains, leading the presentation for the cases. During the following negotiations and petitions leading to the agreements of 1886 and 1926, the representatives of the Pedhi displayed a clear understanding of both Keatinge's and Candy's reasoning. In response to the earlier decisions, the Jains were ready to use their power as "an influential sect," and focus on the "religious purposes" of the site which were supported with concrete evidence. Also, in order to revise Keatinge's impression that the Jains were "uncooperative to the British," they submitted 17 written testimonials (*sunnuds*) of British officials dated between 1757 to 1857 to prove their loyalty to the British Government.<sup>31</sup> In addition, instead of focusing on the actual location of Shatrunjaya within the dominion of Palitana, which limited the case to the jurisdiction of the Thakur, they argued that since the majority of Jain pilgrims visiting the site are "mostly British subjects," the British should continue to interfere on their behalf.<sup>32</sup> The Jains were not happy with Candy's opinion that the Thakur may interfere with the management or use of the temples or the hill outside the *gudh*; however, since they had no further legal bases to refute this claim, there were no further complaints. On the other hand, the petitions indicate that the Jains understood that their rights to the hill

---

Government and the Legislature, which prevents levying taxes when it interferes with "vested interests." Candy, 1926, 60.

<sup>31</sup> "Memorial by the Managing Committee of the representatives of Sheth Anandji Kalianji presented to the Political Agent, Kathiawar, dated 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1899." India Office Records; "Letter to His Excellency, The Right Honourable Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council," in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 93-100.

<sup>32</sup> "British subjects" indicated persons who lived in British territory, in contrast those who lived in Princely States. A large proportion of the Jains who worshiped at Shatrunjaya (as well as the main members of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi) were from cities such as Ahmedabad and Bombay, which were both directly ruled by the British. "Letter to His Excellency, The Right Honourable Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council," in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 1-2.

come from the fact that it was used for religious purposes. Thus later petitions protested against the irreverent actions of the Thakurs, implying that the Thakurs were not respecting the religious purposes of Shatrunjaya and therefore undermining British authority (which had approved the sanctity of the site). These included a petition dated to 1925 which emphasized the fact that the Thakur brought together on the slopes of Shatrunjaya a fair (*mela*) of low-caste people who ate and drank food unfit for Jains.<sup>33</sup> Another complaint protested against the Thakur's irreligious conduct; he wore leather shoes and smoked tobacco while visiting the temples at Shatrunjaya, thus violating the sanctity of their site.

### The Final Confrontation

In 1925, Thakur Bahadursinghji (r. 1919-1947, d. 1971) sent a letter to C.C. Watson, Agent to the Governor-General in the States of Western India, in anticipation of the renewal of the previous agreement of 1886.<sup>34</sup> This letter followed the reorganization of

---

<sup>33</sup> This fair of low caste people was organized by the Thakur in 1879. According to the Pedhi, after the Jains protested, the Political Agent investigated the events and concluded that “the fair held by the Dheds on the hill of Shatrunjaya was an innovation got up by the [Palitana] Durbar to annoy the Shravuks, that such conduct is unworthy of the position of a second class State and contrary to the rules laid down by the Government to regulate his relations with the Shravuks.” As a result, the Government Resolution No. 5054 of October 17, 1881 stated that “It is necessary to remind the Thakore that it was decided by Government after full enquiry in Resolution No. 1641 of 16<sup>th</sup> March 1877, that *his authority over the hill was of a limited character and that he had no authority to interfere regarding it in the same manner as he would do with reference to other portions of his estate.* (The italics are your Memorialists’ [Jains’]). Chimanlal H. Setalvad, “To His Excellency The Right Honourable Rufus Daniel Isacs, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, Delhi,” in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 84.

<sup>34</sup> According to documents in the India Office Records, Bahadursinghji probably had intimate knowledge of the colonial administrative system. Although there are no records of Bahadursinghji’s basic education, his father Mansinghji was educated at Rajkumar College, Rajkot. It is possible that Bahadursinghji also attended the college, since at the age of 18, he left Palitana for Shrewsbury, England, where he and his two cousins received military education and an Army Rank before returning to India. India Office Records L/PS/359.

the Princely States (1925), which recognized Palitana as a “9-Gun Salute State” with the Thakur directly responding to the Governor-General of India. In this letter, Bahadursinghji proposed to charge Rs.2 for each pilgrim climbing Shatrunjaya (and Rs.5/person per annum for long-term residents) instead of a lump sum. He pressured the Agent to accept his proposal, by emphasizing quotes from the Indian Constitutional Reforms—“It (Paramount Power) intervenes when the internal peace of their (Native States’) territories is seriously threatened”<sup>35</sup>—and arguing that there was no reason for the British to interfere at this point. Watson compromised by making the Thakur enumerate the number of pilgrims, which would be used to decide a new amount of pilgrim tax.<sup>36</sup> The representatives of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, who were expecting merely an increase of the tax amount, were stunned by the proposed new method of collecting tax. They requested Watson to recommend a lump sum, preferably for perpetuity, and a hearing that would include both parties.<sup>37</sup> Watson responded by fixing an amount of Rs. 100,000 as pilgrim tax, a considerable increase from the Rs. 15,000 of 1886. This number was based on the average number of people using the Bhavnagar-Palitana Railway from 1922 to 1924. He also clearly stated that while the British had intervened three times during the past hundred years, it did not mean that the

---

<sup>35</sup> (The brackets are from the original letter) Bahadursingh Gohil, “No. 637 of 1925. From, Thakore Saheb Shri Bahadursinhji, Thakore Saheb of Palitana, To, The Hon’ble Mr. C.C. Watson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Agent to the Govenor-General in the States of Western India, Rajkot, Dated 14<sup>th</sup> September 1925,” in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 117-134.

<sup>36</sup> C.C. Watson, “Ad Interim Order, No. P.59 of 1926,” in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 169-175.

<sup>37</sup> In this letter, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi argued that the original “payment” was not a tax, but rather a payment for services, so the increase in amount should be only proportionate to the increase in money needed for those services. Since the British presence had eliminated most threat for travelers, they argued that there was no further reason for increase. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, “To the Hon.ble Mr. C.C. Watson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Agent to the Govenrnor General in the States of Western India,” dated 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1926,” in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 177-212.

Thakur had lost his sovereign rights to tax his subjects; also, he stated that the Jains needed to refrain from further “propaganda” through the press and should go to the Palitana government for any future problems, rather than directly appeal to the British Viceroy/Governor-General.<sup>38</sup>

This caused an immediate uproar within the Jain community. In addition to repeatedly appealing to the Viceroy Edward F. Irwin by mail and in person,<sup>39</sup> the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi called a meeting of all representatives of the Shvetambara Jains on July 27, 1926. Following this meeting, the Pedhi announced that all Jains will discontinue pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya until an honorable decision was reached.<sup>40</sup> This followed the tradition of resistance against rulers by merchants in Kathiawad and western India, which including fasting, withholding trade, and threats of relocation.<sup>41</sup> The press that was sympathetic to the Jains continued to publish editorials opposing Watson’s decision, while Muslims and Hindus of western India also decided to stop pilgrimage to

---

<sup>38</sup> C.C. Watson, “Mr. Watson’s Decision,” in *Palitana Jain Case*, 1926, 217. He states in the final paragraph that “they [the Jains] must accept the decision of the Secretary of State and when they are no longer contesting the sovereign rights of the Darbar it will be unnecessary for the latter to maintain meticulous restrictions upon any possible extension of the present special privileges of the Jains.” Appendix E, #5.

<sup>39</sup> According to a “Letter of Glancy to Watson, dated 27-6-1927,” the Viceroy had an interview with Kasturbhai Lalbai, representative of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi and grandson of Vakhatchand Khushalchand. During this interview Kasturbhai argued for 1) a reduced amount of tax and 2) the right for the Jains to approach the Agency directly. India Office Records L/PS/10/1100.

<sup>40</sup> According to “Telegram of Kasturbhai Lalbai, to Secretary of State for India, dated Ahmedabad 29<sup>th</sup> July 1926,” the Jains will not go on pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya “till the community obtains full justice and secures a satisfactory settlement of the Rakhpota payment and other disputes this meeting further calls upon every Sangh to take measures to give effect to the above injunction of the Sangh.” India Office Records.

<sup>41</sup> According to Howard Spodek, Kasturbhai Lalbai (the current Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad and head of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi) was a close acquaintance of Mahatma Gandhi, and supported Gandhi’s activities in Ahmedabad after his relocation in 1915. Howard Spodek, “On the Origins of Gandhi’s Political Methodology: The Heritage of Kathiawad and Gujarat,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 30 no.2 (1971): 366.

their holy sites until this act was withdrawn.<sup>42</sup> The boycott of Shatrunjaya continued for two years. During this period, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the head of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, pleaded for solidarity of the Jain community. In order to persuade the lay community, the Pedhi sent letters to monks and nuns, asking for their support. For devout worshipers who simply could not give up the pilgrimage, a “substitute” Shatrunjaya was built at Kadamgiri, a small pilgrimage site about 20 miles away from Shatrunjaya and outside the Palitana Thakur’s domain.<sup>43</sup> (Figure 6-1. “Substitute” Shatrunjaya at Kadamgiri) The economy of Palitana, which largely depended on the Jain pilgrims, was shattered.<sup>44</sup> Finally the Viceroy intervened, and a new agreement was signed in 1928, presenting to the Jains full management of the *tunks*, surrounding temples and paths, and shrines within the *gudh*, whether they were Jain or not. However, the Jains were to pay a fixed annual sum of Rs.60,000 for 35 years; the Thakur also agreed not to levy any further dues in the form of pilgrimage taxes. Also, if any dispute were to rise regarding this agreement and the rights of the Jains, they were urged to take the case to the Thakur,

---

<sup>42</sup> “Letter of H.N. Pandya, President of Sabha of Rajkot, to Secretary of State of India, dated 15<sup>th</sup> August 1926.” India Office Records. According to Pandya’s letter, it was decided at a meeting at Rajkot on the same date, that Hindus of all castes and Muslims would not go on pilgrimage until the Palitana case was solved. He adds “that this meeting thanks the *Times of India* and all other Journals that have justly shown their sympathy towards the Jain community in their present difficult situation; and it expresses its sorrow at the unwarranted reflections that the Honourable Mr. Watson has cast upon the integrity of the press as well as members of the Jain community.”

<sup>43</sup> Kadamgiri is one of the five “small” pilgrimage sites (*panca tirthi*) related to Shatrunjaya. If pilgrims to Shatrunjaya have additional time, they would circle these five sites as a representation of circumambulating Shatrunjaya. On the site, which is located on a small hill, there are several 1/500 stone models of the temples at Shatrunjaya, complete with images within the main sanctums and flags above the superstructures (*shikaras*). These miniature temples include the Main Adishvara Temple, the Chaumukh Temple, Adbhutji, although none of the valley temples.

<sup>44</sup> During this period, desperate for a economic recovery, there are records of false rumors that there would be a large-scale pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya led by eminent ascetics. Although it is not clear, these were probably spread by Palitana residents who were desperate to lure worshipers back to the site. Desai, vol. I, 1983, 320-337.

who had executive ruling capacity in his territory.<sup>45</sup> Pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya resumed in April of 1928; it was a limited victory for the Jains, although the Thakur was also given nominal respect.

### The Rise of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi

The most remarkable phenomenon related to the Jains' campaign against the Thakurs was the rise of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, the trust of lay persons mainly from Ahmedabad, who represented the Jains regarding the management of their temples and images at Shatrunjaya. During the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Pedhi became the main agent in submitting petitions, providing religious texts, historical documents, and expert witnesses (e.g. Jain ascetics) as evidence of the Jain ownership of Shatrunjaya.

The early history of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi is not clear. According to Desai, the temples at Shatrunjaya were managed by Jains from Patan during the Solanki rule in western India (*c.* 13<sup>th</sup> century), but came under the control of the Jains from Ahmedabad during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> There are no records of a *pedhi* at this time, but merchants of Ahmedabad, including Shantidas Jhaveri, may have formed an entity similar to a business firm in order to manage pilgrimages and donations to Shatrunjaya during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The name “Anandji Kalyanji” first appears in an 18<sup>th</sup>-century

---

<sup>45</sup> “Agreement arrived at between His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Palitana as representing the Palitana Durbar, and Sheth Anandji Kalianji as representing the Swetamber Murtipujak Jain Community of India,” Dated 26 June 1928. India Office Records.

<sup>46</sup> Desai, vol. I, 1983, 50-55. Patan—formerly Anhilwarapatan—is about 120 km northwest of Ahmedabad. Patan was the capital of several dynasties, including the Chavda, Solanki, and Vaghela dynasties which ruled Gujarat prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, after the establishment of Ahmedabad as the capital of the new dynasty in 1411 by Ahmed Shah, Patan lost much of its economic and political significance, which probably led to the change in the management of Shatrunjaya.

document which is not related to Shatrunjaya, but list a number of donors to the “Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.”<sup>47</sup> These documents (and petitions of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century) are signed with the names of individual merchants, rather than “representatives” of a certain group.<sup>48</sup> However, in 1863, the Pedhi was clearly defined in Keatinges’ Decision as a “firm organized by the Shravuck [Jain] Community to receive and control the Treasury of the Temple.”<sup>49</sup> Also, when doubt was raised by the Thakur in 1880 about the validity of the Pedhi, the Pedhi drafted a constitution defining its role, its membership, and appointment of the trustees.<sup>50</sup> This was one of the earliest modern constitutions to be created by a religious trust in India.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Desai prints facsimiles of documents dated to Vikram Samvat 1787 (1731 CE) with the name “Ānadāji Kālyanji” Desai, vol. II, 1983, after p.40. During this period, there are several names associated with the management of Shatrunjaya, including “Shri Sangh Pedhi” as another example. Desai, vol. I, 1983, 105.

<sup>48</sup> In the 1821 Decision, the Thakur addresses the agreement to “Set Anandji Kalianji inhabitant of Palitana.” Although the Pedhi may have been involved in this decision, it is interesting to find that it is still addressed as an individual, an “inhabitant of Palitana.” Appendix E, #2.

<sup>49</sup> Keatinge, “Decision,” 1926, 137. Another Petition dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1876 is signed by “Premābhāi Hīmābhāi, Jeaisanghbhai Hathīsangh, Umābhāi Hathīsangh, Karmacand Premcand Dā Trīkamandās Nathusā, Bhagumānd Premacand Sahī Dā. Mansukhbhāi, Dalpatbhāi Magubhāi, Manchārāman Gokaldās, Representative of Sett Ananji Cullianji.” “Objections to the Report of Mr. Candy, Judicial Assistant Political Agent, Kathiawar, submitted to Government in accordance with the Government Resolution No. 1308 dated 24<sup>th</sup> February 1875.” India Office Records.

<sup>50</sup> This creation of a new constitution was due to an apparent need; when a Muslim guard of Chaumukh Tunk (on the northern summit of Shatrunjaya) was found dead after falling off the walls, the Thakur accused the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi of murder and arrested six of the managers. Although the Political Agent of Kathiawar Barthes declared that this was an accident, the Jains appealed to the Mumbai governor Sir Temple Baronet. In response to the Pedhi’s action, Barthes requested the governor to throw out the appeal since “the Anandji Kalyanji is not the name of a person and only a trust and cannot call themselves a representative of the Jain community.” He requested that the Pedhi should appoint a person to negotiate with him, the Political Agent of Kathiawar, and the Pedhi drafted a constitution to prove that the Pedhi was the legal representative of Shvetambara Jains in India. Desai, vol. I, 1983, 154-157.

<sup>51</sup> Pre-modern groups which managed religious properties were not uncommon in South Asia, including temple properties or *waqfs*, i.e. religious endowments according to the Islamic law. However, apart from the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, I have not found any records of modern constitutions of religious trusts dating before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I believe that this rise of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, especially the creation of its constitution, reflects a significant change in the history of modern Jainism. Although the drafting of a constitution did not make any immediate changes in Jainism, the life of Jains throughout India, or even the legal cases of Shatrunjaya, it caused a shift in the understanding of a religious community. The religious community of “Jains” was now represented by a legal entity, which was bestowed with the power to speak for the community and negotiate on their behalf.

According to the constitution, the Pedhi was given the power to represent the Shvetambara Murtipujak Jain community. What was the basis of this power? Firstly, the power was based on the traditional role of the head of the Pedhi, who also held the position of the Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad.<sup>52</sup> From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Nagarsheth (or, before the creation of the title Nagarsheth, the main descendant of Shantidas Jhaveri) had been the one to negotiate with other authorities such as the Mughals regarding matters of Shatrunjaya. However, in addition to the role of this particular individual, the constitution of the Pedhi claims that its powers come from the whole *sangh*, or the assembly of Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains throughout India. This was provided by the support of Shvetambara Jains from various cities; when the meeting to propose a constitution was held in 1880, invitations were sent out to 103 cities,

---

<sup>52</sup> In 1880, when the constitution was drafted, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi was led by Premabhai Hemabhai who was the Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad, and a descendant of Shantidas Jhaveri, and patron of Hemabhai Tunk at Shatrunjaya. According to Desai, Premabhai was appointed as chair in the first meeting, which unanimously agreed to the stipulation that only descendants of Shantidas may become the chair of the trust. (This clause was removed in 1912.) Desai, vol. I, 1983, 157-158.

including those in other regions of India.<sup>53</sup> Even though the participation of Jains from states other than Gujarat or Rajasthan was nominal, the fact that they were included provided sufficient justification for the actions of the Pedhi.

With the creation of a constitution, there occurred a shift in how the Jain community of western India viewed itself. The legal cases were no longer handled by individuals who had vague claims to Shatrunjaya, but rather, by the Pedhi, a legal entity which existed for the sole purpose of managing the site. The Pedhi, which represented the “Jain Shvetambara Murtipujak Sangh” according to its constitution, became the agent of this Jain community in the legal cases regarding Shatrunjaya. Shatrunjaya, the Pedhi, and the *sangh* (assembly) were now linked by legal associations. As a result, the *sangh*, or, community, became connected with the fate of Shatrunjaya in ways that had not been possible to imagine before. The histories of Shatrunjaya were now not only the histories of the site, but also those of the *sangh*, or this newly imagined Jain community. Histories of Shatrunjaya, which included written histories, architecture, and paintings, now became closely woven with the way Jains of the 19<sup>th</sup> century wanted to view themselves and be viewed by others. These histories came to represent their own identity.

The legalization of the Pedhi solved several problems in defining a “Jain identity” during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One problem was the fact that there were already pre-existing Jain identities that conflicted with the modern, Western notion of religious identity. Numerous sources dating back to the Solanki dynasty (941-13<sup>th</sup> century) and later

---

<sup>53</sup> Desai, 1983, 157-160. As a result, more than a thousand representatives attended this meeting regarding the forming of a constitution. 32 members were appointed from 23 cities during the meeting as representatives. Out of the eight decrees decided at the meeting, the first was that “till now whatever has been done and in the future, the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi is authorized to deal with the Thakur Saheb.”

indicated that Jains were already differentiating Jain and non-Jain—represented in the Gujarati dyad of *Jain* and *Jainettar*<sup>54</sup>—although there was no unified Jain community led by a single religious head or leader.<sup>55</sup> However, while each worshiper's self-identity as a Jain was existent, it was not an impermeable concept but one that would overlap with the regional, occupational, or caste-based identity (for example, as a “Gujarati Osval Jain merchant with ancestors putatively from Osian, whose ancestors were Rajputs”). This was in contrast to the “Hindu” identity which was more a product of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western understanding of India.

According to Laidlaw, these identities as a Jain were enforced through two sets of processes: patronage of communally owned religious buildings, and participation in the events they house.<sup>56</sup> Both of these processes, which included patronage and pilgrimage to sacred sites such as Shatrunjaya—a powerful means to experience a collective identity—were social activities, rather than private or personal forms of worship. This became another problem during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Within the context of British rule and law, “modern” society (or later, nation) implied a secular society in which “the injection of religion” into politics is condemned.<sup>57</sup> Religion, in a modern society, became a matter of the personal realm, an inner domain. The “Jain” was no longer encouraged to be an individual within a social context, but rather an individual within a spiritual and/or physical context. The traditional ways in which the Jain community of western India

---

<sup>54</sup> Cort, 1998, 7.

<sup>55</sup> These include pilgrimage stories or religious poems, biographies of pious laymen and ascetics. For examples, Phyllis Granoff, ed., *The Clever Adulteress & Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*, (Oakville; New York; London: Mosaic Press, 1990).

<sup>56</sup> Laidlaw, 1995, 138.

<sup>57</sup> Dumont, 1980, 316. On the other hand, Dumont also demonstrates how this Western ideal could not transpire within the context of South Asian histories.

confirmed its collective identity was no longer acceptable within this framework. The modern political and legal system of the 19<sup>th</sup> century raised the need for a legal entity, i.e., the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, to act on behalf of the religious community. The Pedhi took the place of the Jain community, which as a gathering of religious individuals, hypothetically did not (and should not) possess the incentive nor means to confront or refute the claims of a political authority. By confirming the legality of the Pedhi with a modern constitution, the Jain community could now inject itself into the fabric of modern society through legitimate means.

On the other hand, within the “modern” society, while religion was restricted from the political or social, the realm of religion itself was acknowledged as autonomous, in other terms an entity that “has its own values and is supreme in its domain.”<sup>58</sup> Especially after the Great Uprising, British authorities became more cautious of intervening in religious affairs. However, this did not mean that the religious realm could be completely out of the jurisdiction of the colonial. Rather, as religion and religious issues became defined according as “autonomous” in the modern sense, the identity of a religious community also had to be prescribed according to the modern concepts of religion and society. The modern Jain identity had to be created within this alien framework, and the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi was readily available to take the role of leadership.<sup>59</sup> By presenting the Pedhi with power to legally represent the Shvetambara Jain community,

---

<sup>58</sup> Dumont, 1980, 316.

<sup>59</sup> According to John Cort, the rise of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was also made possible by the relative vacuum of charismatic ascetics and their leadership. During this period, ascetic leadership remained with the *yatis*, i.e. resident priests which were divided according to many competing lineages. The *yati* system, which is not condoned in religious scriptures, came under scrutiny during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, leading to a diminishing leadership; also, until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was no charismatic ascetic comparable to Hiravijayasuri or others in earlier Jain history. John Cort, personal communication.

the Jain community also submitted the power to represent their religion to others to the Pedhi. While the diversity of the community's worshipers remained intact, the outward presentation of the community, especially the facets related to Shatrunjaya, was now in the hands of the wealthy merchants from Ahmedabad, who were the hegemonic forces of the Pedhi.

### Dominance and Hegemony

Events following the legal cases of Shatrunjaya indicate that the Pedhi quickly rose to acquire a role of leadership among the Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains. In addition to voluntary donations of assets by Jains from various parts of India, the management rights of other Jain sites were conferred to the Pedhi by local trusts.<sup>60</sup> These included the Jain temples at Girnar, Kumbhariya, and Taranga.<sup>61</sup> The transfer of management of these significant sites in western India displays the Pedhi's influence generated from its role within the legal cases. Even other sites, such as the Dilwara Temples at Mount Abu, which retained their original management, began to rely upon the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi for the funds and directions of renovations.<sup>62</sup> According to records, the Pedhi was legally active not only in western India but also in other regions, sending petitions on

---

<sup>60</sup> Desai mentions several major donations to the Pedhi, including one from a woman in Bijapur who donated her whole shop in 1905. Desai, 1983, vol. I, 128. The management of additional other Jain sites were conferred to the Pedhi after 1912. Desai, 1983, vol. I, 170.

<sup>61</sup> According to a guidebook of Jain religious sites, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi manages ten major sites in western India: Ranakpur, Kumbariya, Taranga, Girnar (shared with Bantilal Jain Digambara Trust), Hastagiri (shared with Candroday Religious Trust Office), Shatrunjaya, Upariyalaji, Vamj, and Serisha and Muchala Mahavirji. *Tirth Darshan: Dvitiya khanda*, in Hindi, (Chennai: Shree Jain Prathana Mandir Trust, 2002).

<sup>62</sup> For example, when the Dilwara temples at Mount Abu were renovated in 1976, the management of the temples completely handed over the task to the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi. Desai, 1983, vol. II, 198.

behalf of the Shvetambara Jain community when disputes rose in Bihar regarding the use of Sammet Shikhara, or Parashnath Mountain.<sup>63</sup>

With the rising numbers of pilgrims and donors to Shatrunjaya, the Pedhi quickly became one of the richest religious trusts in India. Funds collected by the Pedhi had been allotted to several different causes such as funds to maintain temples and images (*devdravya*), funds to provide knowledge (*gnandravya*), funds for general materials (*sadarandravya*), funds for saving lives of animals (*jivdaya*), and funds to help poor Jains (*sadarmibhakti*). According to the constitution of the Pedhi, all donations for the temples and images at Shatrunjaya were only to be used for maintenance of temples and images; also, half of this sum was to be used for the maintenance and renovations of temples and images apart from those at Shatrunjaya.<sup>64</sup> No doubt this was used for the renovations of numerous temples, including the Dilwara Temples at Mount Abu.<sup>65</sup> As the Pedhi assumed the additional role of traditional caretakers (*pujaris*) after Independence, it gained a tremendous amount of funds which enabled further expansion of this role.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Desai mentions a case in 1891, when an Englishman was granted permission to build a slaughterhouse on the slope of Sammet Shikhara. The Pedhi petitioned the authorities to stop the process, and the previous grant was withdrawn. Desai, 1983, vol. I, 135. The site of Sammet Shikhara was managed by Digambara Jains until a dispute among Jains rose in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century; however, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi actively supported the Digambara management throughout this case.

<sup>64</sup> Desai, 1983, vol. I, 163.

<sup>65</sup> Desai lists further renovations by the Pedhi, which included: Talaja Temple (1887); Shatriyakundh and Kakandi, [UP?] (1903); Jhiralal Parshvanath Temple at Khambat (1904); Toowar Temple, near Sankeshvara (1909); Mitranaji Derasar in Siddhpur (1911); Jain temple at the fort of Idar (1911); Osian temples, Ningala (1912); Osian Mahavirswami Temple (1914), etc. Desai, 1983, vol. II, 202-203.

<sup>66</sup> The Hindu caste of *barods* were the traditional *pujaris*, or caretakers, in the temples at Shatrunjaya. These *barods* collected money and items given to the images within the temples as payment of their service, since Jains do not work as caretakers due to the belief that accepting or using gifts to the Tirthankaras associated the user with the *pap* (sin) caused by the giver. However, when Kasturbhai Lalbai became the head of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, he negotiated with representatives of the *barods* over the rights to collect the donations, and both parties signed

Statements of Kasturbhai Lalbhai clearly indicate that the Pedhi believed in restoring traditional architecture of Jain temples.<sup>67</sup> The ideal traditional temple was based on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>-century temples at Dilwara, Ranakpur, and Taranga, rather than the most recent temples of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which led to various renovations demolishing Western elements and restoring original sculptures and removing non-traditional elements.<sup>68</sup> These changes are concurrent with the revived interest in traditional forms of art during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but may be the only changes overtly expressing a desire to form a “religious” identity.

These actions regarding renovation of temples are the rare documented examples of the Pedhi’s role in creating and enforcing a paradigm during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and later. By cleansing temple architecture of non-Jain elements and restoring the architecture to a pristine state, the Pedhi aimed to provide a suitable standard of Jain architecture to Jains as well as to the Others. However, is it possible to connect these later objectives of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi with the changes related to Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Unfortunately, apart from documents related to renovations of temples and processes of the legal cases, there are not many written records that can confirm the opinions or the actual roles of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi and its members prior to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only the multiple histories of Shatrunjaya (i.e. the historiography, patronage, architecture, paintings, and legal cases of the site) allow us to see the changes happening at Shatrunjaya and among its worshipers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These

---

a contract in which the *barods* would give up their rights in lieu of an annual payment from the Pedhi. Desai, 1983, vol. II, 118-122. Today, some *barods* still remain under employment of the Pedhi, although as paid managers of local Pedhi offices.

<sup>67</sup> Desai, 1983, vol. II, 199.

<sup>68</sup> Desai, 1983, vol. II, 199.

histories reveal the true agents in building a new community and identity, as well as the fact that there can be no single agent in such processes in spite of a dominant force leading the changes within each history. Thus the final chapter aims to connect the changes--and silences--within the histories of Shatrunjaya.

## **Chapter 7. Producing The Histories and Silences of Shatrunjaya**

*O lord of peaks Shatrunjaya! How can even wise people describe in brief your qualities?*<sup>1</sup>

In each of the previous chapters, I examined the changes related to Shatrunjaya during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I argued that the changes at that time were not sudden, but rather, the results of a gradual accumulation of several factors. The factors ranged from the writings of Western scholars to the Jains' anxiety about the Palitana Thakurs and their actions. This chapter re-traces these factors and changes in a roughly chronological order, and seeks to relate them to the silences that were produced as a result. At most times the relationship between the changes and silences were ambiguous; the agent of the changes and the agent of the silences were not always identical, either. The following narrative seeks to incorporate the changes and silences, as well as the confrontations (apparent and obscure) among the agents.

Shatrunjaya, one of the most holy sites for Shvetembara Murtipujak Jains, gained much significance as a center for pilgrimage and patronage during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was partly due to the newly established British presence in Gujarat and increased wealth of Jain merchants residing in the urban areas of the state. During this time, the local authority had been superseded by an Ahmedabad Jain merchant, through a lease of the Palitana, the area surrounding Shatrunjaya and originally ruled by the Palitana Thakurs. These conditions led to the patronage of a large number of temples at the site, and these temples were built to enhance the worshipers' spiritual experience by using a variety of

---

<sup>1</sup> “Twelve Chapters from *The Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places, the Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri*,” translated by John E. Cort, in Cort, 1990b, 251.

architectural and decorative elements. In addition to building luxurious temples, patrons provided extravagant pilgrimages to the site, accumulating on one hand great merit (that could be translated into social benefits) to the individual patron, and on the other hand a collective identity (created through the buildings and acts of pilgrimage) to the members of the community. Large *patas* depicting Shatrunjaya and other pilgrimage sites were also produced for communal worship, which was another means of solidifying this sense of community.

By the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several changes started to disturb this pattern of patronage. Firstly, Western writings on Shatrunjaya and Jainism started to be published with the aid of Jains; however, the writings resulted in devaluing the site, creating a physical, historical place instead of the abstract, mythical and thus sacred space in traditional Jain literature. On the other hand, the increase of pilgrims and active participation in rituals led to the construction of larger temples and larger *patas* during this period, which enabled more sharing among the worshipers. The lease of Palitana expired in 1843, and the authority of the Palitana Thakur started to materialize as a threat to the patrons as well as the pilgrims. Consequently, Jain ownership was emphasized in the Shatrunjaya *patas* of this period through the topographically accurate depiction of contemporary temples and countless pilgrims; these also indicated the sanctity of Shatrunjaya by placing Palitana clearly on the “outside” of the site. As the threat of the Thakur increased, Shatrunjaya became a focal point within the community of worshipers, as a symbol of their religion.

After the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the legal ownership of the site became the most pressing issue related to Shatrunjaya. The Thakur claimed ownership of the site, which led to his

claim of authority to tax the land as well as the pilgrims. British authorities started detailed investigations into the history of ownership at the request of the Jains and Thakur, and proclaimed that the Jains' rights to the site were based on the "religious purpose" of Shatrunjaya. As Shatrunjaya became the symbol extraordinaire of the Jains, the histories of the site went through a period of "cleansing" during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was mainly because Shatrunjaya and its histories were now objects of analysis, under the scrutiny of the Other, including the Thakur, Western writers and British officials. With the making of a constitution in 1880, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, as legal representative of the Jain community, became the main force in this process of purification. No longer was personal patronage encouraged, since as a sacred and ancient site, Shatrunjaya could not (and should not) reflect the patrons' desires. Subsequent restorations or constructions were governed by the Pedhi, leading to the creation of a notion of an "ideal" Jain temple based on 13<sup>th</sup>-century architecture. As the number of pilgrims increased, codes for pilgrimage were produced, while additional reforms in the religion also took place.<sup>2</sup> The histories of Jains were re-discovered and re-packaged while producing evidence for the Jain ownership of Shatrunjaya; at the same time, Western writers were finally agreeing on the fact that Jainism was a separate, independent religion.

However, according to Cort, a purification of Jainism, or the pursuit of a true Jainism "is a chimera, for the textual and social history of Jainism is far too long and

---

<sup>2</sup> A significant reform during the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century and 20<sup>th</sup> century was the abolishment of the *yati* system. According to Peter Fluegel, the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi played a large role in the abolishment of the *yati* system during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Peter Fluegel, "The Ritual Cycle of the Terapanth Svetambara Jains," *Bulletin d'études Indiennes* 13-14 (1995-1996): 117-76.

complex to facilitate such a reconstruction and divers modes and idioms of sectarian belief and practice, regional or otherwise, have through the centuries become too deeply rooted within the Jain community to be swept away.”<sup>3</sup> The patrons, and the worshipers at Shatrunjaya, as agents of changes, have been continuously shaping the site as well as their own community. If the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi attempted to re-create an ideal Jain community, this notion was not based on a real existing community, but rather, an imagined Jain community which the members of the Pedhi deemed to be ideal.<sup>4</sup>

According to the requirements of this modern religious community, a new history of Shatrunjaya was created; one result was the suppression of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century rise of Shatrunjaya. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Pedhi acted as the foremost agent of historical production, or rather, production of silences. As a result, the former colorful histories of Shatrunjaya—as a site which acquired new and additional significance only during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or as a depository of financial merit and experimental architecture, or as site of legal conflict—were obscured and replaced by the standard story of the site: “Shatrunjaya is a holy site for [all] Jains who worship images, and it is one of their most sacred pilgrimage sites dating back to antiquity.”

Yet will Shatrunjaya remain this way? Although a new Shatrunjaya was created by the Pedhi during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, this Shatrunjaya only reflected a portion of the community of worshipers, in spite of the claim otherwise. Outside the “true” Shatrunjaya envisioned by the Pedhi and its members, there has been, and will always be, elements of

---

<sup>3</sup> Cort, 2001a, 210-211.

<sup>4</sup> According to biographies, some of the members of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi were also active in the Gujarat Vernacular Society, a group established in 1848 by Alexander Kinloch Forbes in order to promote the studies of Gujarat language and history.

an “Other” Jainism, which will creep up in the everyday worship and patronage of the lay person. As the 21<sup>st</sup>-century *patas* include the contemporary with cars, clock towers, and newly consecrated temples at the bottom of the hill, as patrons add the new temples at the Taleti and also other sites such as Kadamgiri to the list of temples to be visited when visiting Shatrunjaya, as worshipers climb the hill in the middle of the monsoon as part of their daily rituals, the authority of the Pedhi, sustained by the colonial (and later regional and national) legal system, will find that the creation and preservation of a fixed, stable, and coherent Shatrunjaya, or Shvetambara Murtipujak Jain identity, is simply not possible. The contemporary Shvetambara Murtipujak Jain identity will not be prescribed by an authority, in spite of the efforts of the Pedhi, or any other authoritative source (for example, ascetics or scholars). It will be a result of how the individuals of the community “continually redefine their pasts and renegotiate their presents,”<sup>5</sup> as well as his/her own Self within the context of the Other.

---

<sup>5</sup> Meister, 2000, 40.

## Appendices

### **List of Appendices**

- A. 16 Renovations of Shatrunjaya**
- B. Mughal *farmanas* on Shatrunjaya**
- C. Table of Temples at Shatrunjaya**
- D. Table of Shatrunjaya *Patas***
- E. Deeds of Agreement between the Thakurs and the Jains**

### **Appendix A. The 16 Renovations of Shatrunjaya, according to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmya*.**

Summarized from Tod, *Travels in Western India*, (London: W. H. Allen, 1839): 280, 281; James Burgess, *The Temples of Satrunjaya*, Reprint, (Gandhinagar; Delhi: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagwan Mahavira Nirvan; exclusive distributors Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1976): 26; and Kanchansagarsuri, *Shri Shatrunjay Giriraj Darshan in Sculptures and Architecture*, (Kapadwanj: Aagamoddharak Granthmala, 1982): 17-21.

1. *Chakravarti* (World emperor) Bharata, son of the first Tirthankara Adishvara
2. King Dandavirya, eighth descendant of Bharata
3. Ishanesvar, a *devatu* or god, during the period between the first and second Tirthankaras
4. Mahendra, of the fourth upper world (*devlok*)
5. Brahmendra, of the fifth upper world
6. Chamarendra, Indra of Bhavanapatis
7. Sagar *Chakravarti*, the second *cakravarti* of the times of Ajitnath, the second Tirthankara
8. Vyantarendra, in the times of Abhinandannath, the fourth Tirthankara
9. King Chandrayasha, in the times of Chandraprabhu, the eighth Tirthankara
10. Chakradhar, son of Shantinath, in the times of Shantinath, the 16<sup>th</sup> Tirthankara
11. Ramchandraji and Lakshamanji in the times of Munisuvrata, the 20<sup>th</sup> Tirthankara
12. Five Pandavas in the times of Neminath, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Tirthankara
13. Seth Javed Shah (Javadi, Jabadi, Jāvada) of Muhuva in the year 108 of Vikram Samvat (52 CE). He was known to have spent a million gold mohurs, and when he died, was reborn in the fourth upper world." (In Tod's version, the date is V.S. 1018, which is 961 CE.)
14. Advisor Bahud (Jāwud Bhāwud, Bahad Mantri, or Bahirdeva Mehta, who was a minister) in the times of Kumarpal in the year Vikram Samvat 1213 (1157CE).
15. Samara Shah (Samra Shah or Samar Sinha, or Samara Sarang), of Patan, Vikram Samvat 1371 (1315 CE).
16. Kamara Shah (Kumara Shah, or Karma Dosi), minister of Chittor on the auspicious sixth day of the dark half of the month of Vaishakh in Vikram Samvat 1587 (1521CE).

## **Appendix B. The Mughal *farmans* on Shatrunjaya.**

1. *Farman* of Akbar, dated 1584. This *farman* is also mentioned in an inscription under the Pundarik-swami Temple in front of the Main Adishvara Temple, Shatrunjaya.
2. *Farman* of Akbar, dated 1592 (37<sup>th</sup> year of reign). This *farman* bestows the mountains of Shatrunjaya, Girnar, Taranga, etc., to Hiravijayasuri.
3. *Farman* of Jahangir, dated 1607-08. This *farman* orders that Jains should not be harassed when they visit the sacred mountain of Shatrunjaya.
4. *Farman* of Shah Jahan, dated 1629-30. This *farman* states that the temples of Chintamani and Shatrunjaya and others that belong to Shantidas should not be harassed.
5. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as viceroy of Gujarat, son of Shah Jahan, dated November 1656. This *farman* issues Shatrunjaya as an *inam* (grant) to Shantidas.
6. *Farman* of Shah Jahan, dated June 1658. This *farman* grants Shatrunjaya as an *altamgha* (perpetual grant) to Shantidas.
7. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as Emperor, dated June 20, 1658. This *farman* confirms the earlier *farman* of Shah Jahan, that Shatrunjaya has been granted to Shantidas.
8. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as Emperor, dated June 22, 1658. This order to repay money to Shantidas was given by Murad Baksh a few days after his accession to the throne. Murad Bakhsh was imprisoned soon after this *farman* was issued and his brother, the future Aurangzeb ascended to the throne
9. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated July 1658. This *farman* issues Shatrunjaya as a perpetual grant to Shantidas.
10. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated August 1658. This *farman* orders that the former amount of money owed by Murad Baksh should be paid to Shantidas and his partners.
11. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated January 1659. Issued to Lakshmichand, son of Shantidas Jawahari; that the amount of money should be repaid immediately. Shantidas is known to have died in 1660, and it is possible that Lakshmichand had taken over his father's business at this time.
12. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, as Emperor, dated March, 1660. The *farman* states Palitana, Girnar, and Mount Abu are granted to Lakshmichand, son of Shantidas Jhaveri.

Full Translations of Mughal *Farmans* from Appendix B. **Bold letters indicate Shatrunjaya-related portion of the text.**

1. *Farman* of Akbar, dated 1584. Full translation not available. Dated June 1584, and “addressed to the officials of the province of Malwa, in favour of Hiravijaya Suri’s request for the prohibition of animal slaughter.” M.S. Commissariat, “Epigraphic and Other Records in Gujarat Relating to the Jain Saint Hiravijaya Suri,” *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* III, no. 3 (1941): 148.
2. *Farman* of Akbar, dated 1592 (37<sup>th</sup> year of reign).  
“God Almighty.”

[Seal: The Glory of religion and world, Akbur Badshah, the son of Humayoon Badshah, the son of Babar Badshah, the son of Shik Omer Mirza, the son of Sooltan Aboo Suyeed, the son of Sooltan Mohamed Mirza, the son of Meerunshah, the son of Tymoor, the August Hero]

[Seal: Firman of Jelauloodeen Mahomed, Akbur Badshah, the Hero]

"Be it known to the Officers of the present and future times, the Governors, Kuroorees, Jaegheerdars of the Soobahs (Provinces) of Malwah and Shah Jehanabad (Dehli), Akburabad (Agra), the seat of Government, Lahore; (another) seat of Government, Mooltan the place of protection, Ahmedabad, Ajmeer the auspicious, Meerut and Goozrat, and the province of Bengal, as well as other countries in (our) dominion.

Whereas the whole attention of the high-minded is directed to comply with the wishes, and the entire design of (this) well wisher is directed to govern in the hearts of the hosts of ryots and people, who are the noblest of the creatures of the master of blessings; more especially as our mind, which is concerned with angels, is devoted to seek the pleasure of, and to render auspicious, the pure-minded and persons of pure thoughts, whose hearts are devoted to the contemplation of God and nothing else, therefore whenever we hear of a body or of persons of any religion or persuasion whose heart is full of God, and how pass their lives in the remembrance and contemplation of Almighty the just; and being, as we are, extremely and justly desirous of knowing their real virtues and intrinsic merits, without minding what religion or doctrine they may follow, we, by the dispatch of honorific letters, and in honourable manners, bring them to our presence from distant journeys, and enjoy their company, therefore, **having heard, on several occasions, of the godliness and austere devotion of Heer Bijoy Soor, and Acharj (preceptor) of the Jain Setambari religion or doctrine, and of his disciple and followers, who live at the ports of Goozrat, we had sent for him; and when, after the interview which made me very happy, he intended to return to the usual place of his residence, he requested that with the view of doing honour to him an order be made** that the heaven reaching mountains Siddhashul-Jee, Girnar-Jee, Tarunga-Jee, Kessuria-nauth-Jee, and Abhoo-Jee, situate [*sic*] in the country of Goozrat, the five mountains Raj-giree-Jee, the Somed Sekhur-Jee, alias Parus-nauth-Jee, situate in the country of Bengal, and all the Kooties and temple below the mountains and all the places of worship and pilgrimage of the Jain Setambari religion or doctrine throughout our empire and dominion, wherever the same may be, be in their possession; that no one can kill an animal on those mountains and temple or below or about them. **As he came from a long distance, and his request was really a just and reasonable one, and we do not find it contrary to law, (it being the rule of the worshippers of God to preserve all religions), and as it appeared to us upon enquiry, and we are satisfied that those mountains and places of worship appertain to the religion of Jain Setambari, therefore, in compliance with his request, we grant, and bestow upon, Heer Bojor Soor, Acharj of the Jain Setambari religion the mountain Siddhachul, the mountain Girnar, the mountain Tarunga, the mountain Kessuria-nath, and the mountain Abhoo, lying in the country of Goozrat, the five mountains of Rajgiree, and the mountain Somed Sekhur**

**alias Parus-nauth, lying in the country of Bengal, together with all the places of worship and pilgrimage below the mountains, wherever those places of worship be within our empire and dominion.** It is proper that he performs devotion with composure of heart. **Furthermore although these mountains and the places of worship and pilgrimage, which are the places of the (followers of the) Jain Setambari religion, are given to Heer Bijoy Soor, yet in reality they are of the followers of the Jain Setambari religion.** May this Firman shine like the sun and moon amongst the followers of the Jain Setambari religion, as long as the sun may shine in the day with his resplendent rays, and the moon make the night delightful by her light. Let no one offer an opposition or make objection to the same; let no one kill an animal, on, below, or about the mountains and the places of worship and pilgrimage; let the orders contained in (this) Firman, which commands obedience by (inhabitants of) the world, be acted upon and carried out, and let none depart from the same, and require a new Sunnud (Grant) date, the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Ardee Beghisht, corresponding with the month of Rubee-ula-wol, of the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the exalted (Emperor)." A true translation of the annexed Persian document for Baboo Poorun Chand Golacha, the 10<sup>th</sup> December 1867. (Sd.) Shama Churn Sircar, Chief Interpreter and Translator, High Court Original Jurisdiction, Registrar, Bengal Secretariat. *Palitana Jain Case*, (Ahmedabad: City Printing Press, 1926): 101-102

3. *Farman* of Jahangir, dated 1607-08.

"God is Great."

[Seal: Nooroodin Mohammad Jehangir Badshah Gazi, the son of Akbar Badshah, the son of Hoomayoon Badshah, the son of Babar Badshah, the son of Omar, the son of Sooltan Aboo Sayed, the son of Sooltan Mohammad Mirza Shah, the son of Miran Saheb, the son of Amir Timoor Saheb Khan]

"May it be known. (To) The noble Governors and the Officers [who by] thriftness [bring about] prosperity and the Jagirdar and tax gatherers and the accountants connected with the important affairs and all [those] having to do with the protected territories especially of the Soobah of Gujarat that:--Whereas, the heart of him, who knows his duty [and is] truly a well wisher of the creatures of God, namely, of every Section and Community, is occupied with and takes an interest in the prosperity of all creatures, therefore at present Bekah Harakh Parmanand Jati having presented himself in the presence of the protector of creatures, made a representation to those who were standing at the foot of the throne as follows: --[That as] Baji Sen Soor and Baji Dev Soor and Khoosh faham Nand Baji Paran have temples and Dharamshalas in every place and every town and are engaged in (the practice of) austerity and devotion and seeking after God. And whereas the circumstances relative to the devotional exercises and meditating on God of the abovementioned Bekah Harakh Parmanand Jati became known (to us) thereupon the order of the King of the world (and) the nations was issued as follows: --"**No one shall put up in the temples and Dharamshalas of that community and no one shall enter into them without permission. And should they wish to rebuild them, no one shall oppose them. And no one shall alight**

**at the houses of their disciples. And should (they go) to the holy place (Tirat of) Satranja in the country of Serat for the purpose of worshipping, no one shall ask and demand from them (anything).”** And further in accordance with the representation and request of that man, (His Majesty’s) exalted order was issued that on Sunday and Thursday in every week and the day of new moon of every month and the days of feasts and every new year’s day and in the month of Navroj and one day in the month of Yar Mah on which blessed (day) we were weighed for governing the permanent Kingdom shall be observed year after year as long as the years of our permanent Kingdom shall pass on. On one day there shall be no killing of animals in (our) protected Kingdom; and no one on that day shall hunt and catch and kill birds and fish and such like. It is necessary that paying attention to the abovementioned order they shall not deviate and go astray; in respect of this being carried out and becoming permanent. This shall be considered as (their) duty. Dated the month of Yar in the year 3.”

A true translation, Goolam Mohaideen, Translator.

(Sd.) Flynn, (Chief Translator, High Court, Bombay) 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1875.

*Palitana Jain Case*, 103-104.

4. *Farman* of Shah Jahan, dated 1629-30.

“God is Great.”

[Seal: The Victorious King Shahboodin Mohammad Saheb Kiran Sani Shah Jahan Badshah Gazi, the son of Jehangir Badshah, the son of Akbar Badshah, the son of Hoomayoon Badshah, the son of Babar Badshah, the son of Shekh Omar Mirza, the son of Sooltan Aboo Sayed, the son of Sooltan Mohammad Mirza, the son of Miran Shah, the son of Amir Timoor Saheb Kiran]

“Whereas his Majesty has received a representation as follows:--**The temples of Chintaman and Satranja and Sankesarah and Kasari existed from the ancient time before the fortunate accession of (His Majesty) to the throne and there are three Posals at Ahmedabad and four others at Khambait (Cambay) and one at Sorat and one at Radhanpor in the possession of Satidas. The gracious and noble command of (His Majesty) whom the world obeys who is as exalted as are the heavens has issued to the effect that no person shall put up at the abovementioned places and spots, and no one shall approach them, for they have been granted to them.** And the Seevras may read aloud, &c., the books of Sagar and Sarookan, may live in the Soobah of Goojrat, and shall not quarrel among themselves, and shall not (do anything) against orders; and they shall employ themselves in praying for the permanency of the Kingdom. It is necessary that the Governors and Officers of those places in accordance herewith, knowing (this) to be settled, shall not allow any person to transgress (this).

Written on the twenty-first of the month of Azarma Ilahi in the year 2.”

A true translation, (Sd.) Goolam Mohaideen, translator. (Sd.) Flynn, (Chief Translator, High Court, Bombay) 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1875.

5. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as viceroy of Gujarat, son of Shah Jahan, dated November 1656.

“In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful”

[Seal: Morad Baksh, the son of Shahaboodin Mahomed Saheb Kiran Sanic, Saheb Jahan; the Victorious Emperor, 1049]

“The present and future accounts of the *Sarkar* (i.e. district) of Sorath (who) have become exalted by the Royal favours and hopeful [of distinction] are to know that whereas at this time the best of the Grandees (namely) Satidas the Jeweller, has represented amongst those standing [before us] in the place of assembly which resembles paradise, that in the village of Palitana (which is one) of the dependancies of the abovementioned *Sarkar*, there is a place of worship belonging to the Hindoos, that is called Satranja, and that the people of the surrounding districts come there on a pilgrimage. The order of the highly dignified, the possessor of exalted rank has been graciously issued to the effect that the abovementioned Village has been granted from the beginning of the season of Kharif Nijuit (i.e. harvest time) as an *Inam* to the abovementioned person, the best of the grandees. It is therefore necessary that considering the abovementioned Village as an *Inam* (i.e., grant) to him, you shall not interfere (with it) in any way, in order that the people of the neighbouring districts and localities may come on a pilgrimage to that place with (their) minds at ease. In this matter, regarding (this) as a complete injunction, you are not to swerve (herefrom). Written on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the holy month of Mohurrum in the 30<sup>th</sup> year of our auspicious reign.”

[On the back side] “The handwriting of the humble servant Ali Nakhi.”

[Impression of seal with only “Khan” legible.] “The 4 of Safar in the thirtieth year. A copy was taken to the Divans Office.” “The 4 of Safar in the thirtieth year received.” “... (illegible) ... the 4 of Safar ...”

A true translation, (Sd.) Goolam Mohaideen, Translator.

#### 6. *Farman* of Shah Jahan, dated June 1658.

“God is Great.”

[Seal: Mohammad ... (illegible) a Saheb Kiran Sani .... a Badshah Gazi, the son of Jehangir Badshah, the son of Akbar Badshah, the son of Hoomayoon, ..., the son of Amir Timoor Saheb Kiran]

“At this time the exalted and auspicious Farman of his Majesty is issued and published as follows:-- **The Parganah of Palitana (is) situated within the jurisdiction of Sorat a dependency of the Soobah of Ahmedabad that is called Satranja and was given as a Jagir to (my) fortunate son** the object most charming to the sight of the state (who is as) a white mark on the forehead (of a horse) auguring the prosperity (of the state who is as) a flourishing plant of the garden of monarchy, a seedling of the orchard of the Kingdom, the light of the pupil of grandeur, the fruit of the garden of greatness, the noble, the dignified prince Mohammad Moorad Baksh. **The revenue thereof being two lacs of money, the same has been given as an Inam as abovementioned to Satidas, the jeweler, by way of an Altamgha(grant) [perpetual grant] from the beginning of the harvest time (i.e. the month of Takhakavil).** It is necessary that the noble, the dignified children and the exalted Amirs and Vazirs who are

thrifty and the future accountants employed in the civil department and the Governors and Officers and jagirdars and tax gatherers shall exert (themselves) to carry out and uphold this sacred order of his Majesty and let the above mentioned Parganah remain in the possession of the above named (person) and his children, generation after generation; and shall consider as abolished (the levying) of all monies and dues and taxes and all (other) revenues; and with regard to this matter they shall not demand every year, a new order and a Sanad, and they shall not swerve from what is (here) commanded. Dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of the auspicious month of Ramazan in the 31<sup>st</sup> of the auspicious reign corresponding with the Hijra year 1046 (A.D. 1658)"  
A true translation, (Sd.) Goolam Mohaideen, Translator, (Sd.) Flynn, (Chief Translator, High Court, Bombay) 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1875.

7. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as Emperor, dated June 20, 1658.  
[Seal of Padsha Moorad Buksh, 1068/A.D.1657]  
"This high command is now issued, declaring that as the Purgannah of Palitana under the Sirkar of Soruth, a dependency, of the Subah of Ahmedabad and which Perguna is also called Istrinja is by former Sunnud conferred on Satidas Juwahuree as an Enam or Gift, the said Satidas has presented a Petition praying that in this manner a new high command should be given. This world binding mandate is therefore now issued declaring that we confirm to the said Satidas and to his descendants the Enam or Gift he held by former Sunnud and a Royal patent, and it behoves the Dwans and Vuzeers and Motsudees present and the future and the Jageerdars and Kuroorees of that district to respect the said Gift according to the above order, and not to molest or hinder him under pretence of expenses and Taxes, etc., but they must act so that this order may continue and abide, knowing this order to be peremptory, no opposition shall be made. Dated 29<sup>th</sup> Ramzan first year of his reign."  
(Sd.) J. Taylor, Translator. Recorder's Court, Translator's Office, 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1820.
8. *Farman* of Murad Bakhsh, as Emperor, dated June 22, 1658.  
[Seal: Farman of Abul Muzaffar Murawwaj-ud-din Muhammad Murad Bakhsh Badshah Gazhi]  
"Be it known to the shelter of the Vazirate, the deserver of favour and kindness, Haji Muhammad Quli, who has been honoured and elevated by boundless and exalted favours, that Satidas Sahu has been honoured with an auspicious audience by His Majesty, and by virtue of the favours with which he is associated, this world-obeyed illustrious order, which demands obedience, is issued to the effect that the amount which has been borrowed from Manekchand, the son of the abovementioned person, and his brothers, at the place of our accession Ahmadabad, as a loan for the government—which is the foundation of the world—and the details of which are described below, should be paid off from the revenues, for the kharif season of this year, of the parganas mentioned herewith. Since Manekchand has rendered meritorious service, and Satidas, by virtue of his fidelity and loyalty, has received the blessing of an audience, therefore the exalted

order is repeated that he (Haji Muhammad Quli) should exert himself in this matter in such a way that the loan made by him and his brothers is soon repaid. considering this as most urgent, he should act in accordance with the holy and exalted order. Written on the 1st of the month of Shawwal in the first year of the blessed accession."

[On the back] "Issued through the humble disciple and sincere son Muhammad Izid Bakdhsh Bahadur."

Translated by M.S. Commissariat, "Discovery of New Farmans on Shantidas," in *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*, (Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935): 70.

9. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated July 1658.

"In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful."

[Seal: God, the victorious Mohammad Ourungzeb Sha Bahadoor, the son of Saheb Kiran Sani, 1068 (A.D. 1658)]

"Whereas at this time, the beginning of which is auspicious (and) the end of which will be happy, Satidas, the jeweler has represented to the noble, most holy, exalted (and) elevated presence through persons who constitute the whole assembly of the Court, Soloman, the protector of the Office of the successors (of Mohammad) the shadow of God, dated the nineteenth of the holy month of Ramzan, in the year thirty one, **the district of Palitana, which is called Satranja in the jurisdiction of the Sorath Sarkar, a dependency of the Suba of Ahmedabad (and) the revenue of which is two lacs of Dams has been settled as a perpetual Inam on the slave (the petitioner) (and) that he (the petitioner) therefore hope that a glorious edict may also be granted by our Court.**

**Therefore in the same manner as before we have granted (to the petitioner) the abovementioned district as a perpetual Inam.** It is therefore incumbent in the present and future managers of the Soobah and the abovementioned Sarkar, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance (and) to permit the abovementioned district to remain in the possession of the abovementioned person and of his descendants in lineal succession from generation to generation and to consider him exempted from all demands and taxes and all other dues (and) not to demand from him in respect hereof a new sunnud every year (and) they shall not swerve from this order Written on the 9<sup>th</sup> of the month of Telkand in the Hijra Year 1068 (1658)."

[On the back] "A mandate of the Nawab, the possessor of holy titles, the fruit of the garden, a worthy successor, the fruit of the tree of greatness, a lamp of the noble family, a light of the great house, the pupil of the eye of grandeur and fortune, the pride of greatness and glory, of noble birth, the exalted, the praised one by the tongue of the slave and free, the famous (and) victorious prince Mohammad Sultan Bahadoor."

[Seal: 32 Mohammad Sultan Bahadoor, the son of the Victorious Mohammad Ourungzeb Shah Bahadoor 1068]

Translated by me, (Sd.) Goolam Mohaideen, Translator.

10. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated August 1658.

[Seal: The illustrious farman of Shah Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Ghazi]  
“Be it known to the thrifty and favour-desiring Rahmat Khan, who has been honoured by the royal kindness, that the chief among the nobles, Satidas Jawahari—who has received the honour of the audience of his illustrious majesty, and who has been permitted, on this occasion of auspicious beginning and happy ending, to go from the court to his native place Ahmadabad—has brought, through the medium of those who stand at the foot of the throne, to our exalted and elevated notice that Prince Murad Bakhsh has taken at Ahmadabad (as a loan) the sum of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, of which amount four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees were from Manekchand the son and from Rakhidas the partner of the servant (Satidas) and eighty thousand from some of the relations of this humble person, according to the details written below, and this has been the cause of anxiety to the servant. Therefore, on account of our kindness and generosity we grant the sum of one lakh of rupees from the royal treasury to the said person, and in this connection an illustrious farman has been also issued to Shah Narwaz Khan (the Subahdar; [also father-in-law to Aurangzeb and Murad])—the epitome of the family of the Prophet, the chief of the household of Ali, the pillar of the great Empire, the receiver of boundless favours, the centre of unlimited goodness, the elevated, the Khan. And therefore, this world-obeyed and obedience-demanding order is also issued to you who deserve favour that, after satisfying yourself about this loan of four lakhs and sixty-two thousand rupees made by his son and his partner, you should, with the concurrence of the abovementioned Khan, give one lakh of rupees to the said person without any delay and hesitation so that he may, by making use of it, carry on his business and profit by it. This should be treated as urgent and considered peremptory. Written on the 21<sup>st</sup> of the month of Zil-qada, 1068 H. (August 10, 1658)”

Translated by M.S. Commissariat, “Discovery of New Farmans on Shantidas,” in *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhayji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*, (Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935); 72-73.

11. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, dated January 1659.

“In the Name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful.”

[Seal: Abu'l Muzaffar Huhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Badshah Alamgir Ghazi Bahadur]

“Be it known to the mutasaddis (administrators) both of the present and the future of the Subah of Ahmadabad, who are hopeful of the royal favour, that Lakshmidchand, the son of Satidas Jawahari, has recently submitted, through those who stand at the foot of the throne of the Khilafat, to the noblest, holiest and most exalted (majesty) that he has sums due from his gumashtas (agents) and several inhabitants of the said Subah, and that these bring forward false excuses as regards the payment of the same. He hopes that from the court of sovereignty the exalted order may be issued that they (i.e. the officers) should help him in the

recovery of the amounts due to him. The world-ruling order, which is obeyed by the universe, is now issued that, provided the truth of his complaint is proved, they should help and assist him in the recovery of whatever is necessary as due to the applicant from those persons according to the documents and accounts, and they should so act that the money of the applicant should not be withheld by any one contrary to his accounts. They should consider this urgent. Written on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Jumad-ul-awwal of the first year of the August accession." (30<sup>th</sup> January, 1659) Translated by M.S. Commissariat, "Discovery of New Farmans on Shantidas," in *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*, (Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935): 73-74.

12. *Farman* of Aurangzeb, as Emperor, dated March, 1660.

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate and the merciful"

[Seal: O ye Faithful, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority from amongst you.]

[Seal: Abul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Auragzeb Alamgir Badshah Ghazi]

"At this time the exalted Farman is issued that since Satidas Jawahari, son of Sahasbhai, of the Srawak community, has solicited and been hopeful for special favours, and has greatly helped the army during its march with provisions, and expects to be honoured with special rewards, therefore the village (*deh*) of Palitana, which is under the jurisdiction of Ahmadabad, and the hill of Palitana famous as Satrunja, and the temple on it, all these we give to the said Satidas Jawahari of the Srawak community. Further that the grass which grows there may be used for grazing by the animals and cattle of the Srawak community; and the timber and fuel which is to be found on the hill of Satrunja should belong to the Srawak community so that they may utilize these for whatever purpose they like. Whoever guards the hill of Satrunja and the temple should be entitled to the income of Palitana and they should continue in prayer for the maintenance of the eternal government. It is necessary that the administrators and officers and the jagirdars and the karoris of the present and future should absolutely not allow any deviation or alteration in this. Besides this, there is a mountain in Junagadh famous as Girnal (Girnar) and there is another hill at Abuji under the jurisdiction of Sirohi. We give these two hills also to Satidas Jawahari of the Srawak community as a special favour so that he may be entirely satisfied. It is necessary for the officers that they should not allow any one to interfere with these, and no one among the Rajas should obstruct him, and they should always help him as such action will being royal pleasure. And they should not demand a new sanad every year and if anybody makes a claim about that village and the three hills which we have given to him he will be liable to the censure and curses of the people as well as of God. Another separate sanad has also been given to him. Written on the tenth of Rajab in the Hijri year 1070 (March 12, 1660)"

Translated by M.S. Commissariat, "Discovery of New Farmans on Shantidas," in *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*, (Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935): 74-75.

## Appendix C. Table of Temples at Shatrunjaya

### Temples on the southern summit

No.	Name of Structure	Dates	Patron
1	Rampol		
1-A	Three-Shikhara Temple	1836	Devchand Kalyanchand of Khambhat
1-B	Panch Shikhari Temple	1846	Sah Manchand Vallabhdas (or VtS: Vallabhai Mohandas) of Aurangabad
1-C	Kuntasar Kund		
1-D	Kund		
2	Sagal Pol Gate (Sugala Pol)		
2-1	Isvara Kund (Nondhan Kund)		
3	Vaghan Pol (Tigress Gate, or Mata gate, or Vyagra Pratoli)	1232 or 1288	
4	Keshavji Nayak Temple	1232; rebuilt 1872	Rebuilt on site in 1872
4-A	Pundarik Temple	After 1872	
5	Shantinathji Temple	1230; Rebuilt 1803 1860(VtS)	Hirachand Rayakaran of Daman
6	Neminathji Chauri (or Bhulaoni, i.e. Labyrinth)	1618	Sanghvi Rupaji Somaji of Ahmedabad
6-A	Punya-pap ki bari (Gateway of Virtue and Sin)		
7	Samovasaran		
8	Sothambha Temple (Sat thambh temple, i.e. temple of 100 pillars)	Originally 1630	Manet Jaymalla Jesavala of Jodhpur
8-A	Amizara Parshvanath Temple	1735; VS1791 (VtS)	Minister Bhandari Sri Girdhardas and Ratan Singh (VtS)
8-I	Digambara Temple	1629; 1957?	Sanghvi named Raghavji Ramji o Humada Vania caste, native of Ahmedabad
9	Kumarpal Temple	1321; VS1376/77 (VtS)	Kumarpal of Anahilapura
10	Hathipol		
11	Ratanpol		

12	Main Adishvara Temple	6 <sup>th</sup> century onwards	By Vagbhatta, Solanki minister in 1157; later renovation between 1580-1593
13	Pundrikswami Temple	1530	
15	Nav Adishvara Temple		
16	Sahasra Koot Temple		
17	Sammet Śikhara Temple		
18	Vishviharman temple	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> C	
18-A	Pagla and Rayan tree	1530	
19	Śri Ashthapadji temple		
20	Bharat Chakravarty and Bahubali Temple		
21	Chaud Ratan Temple		
22	Gandhar Pagla Temple		
23	Sri Mandhar Swami Temple	1626	
24	New Tunk Adishwara Temple= Nutan Jinalaya	1972	
25	Gandharia Chaumukhji Temple		

#### Temples within the Valley.

No	Name of Structure	Bldg	Patron
26	Main temple: Sheth Shantanathji Temple	1835-6/ 1837	Motichand Amichand of Bombay
27	Balabhai Tunk Main Temple; Chaumukh Temple	1836/ 1837	Kalyanji Kahanji of Bombay
27-A	Caumukh Temple; RF	1846	Ujambai, wife of Fatehchand Khusalchand of Bombay
28	Adbhaji or Adbhutji Temple (Bhima Padam, AdiBuddha, Bhima Pandava)	1630	Sheth Dharamdas of Daulatabad

#### Temples on the northern summit.

No	Name of Structure	Bldg	Patron
29	Premchand Modi Tunk Main temple	1786? VS1843?	Modi Premchand Lalji (Lalchand) from where?
29-1	Pundarikswami Temple	1786	Hemchand Lalchand
30	Derani Jethani Temple	1803	Jhaveri Ratanchand Javerachand of Surat
31	Sheth Hemabhai Tunk	1826; VS1886	Sah Vakhatchand Khusalchand

	Main Temple		of Ahmedabad, father of Hemabhai Vakhatchand
32	Ujambai Tunk; Nandishvara-dvip Temple	1837 ( <i>tunk</i> )/1840 (main temple)	Sister of Hemabhai Vakhatchand of Ahmedabad; aunt ( <i>fai</i> ) of Premabhai
33	Sakar Shah Tunk Main Temple	1836	Sakarchand Premchand of Ahmedabad
34	Panch Pandava Tunk	1365; 1721	Sah Dalichand Kikavala
34-B	Temple behind 34-A	1803	Sah Khusalchand Dayabhai of Surat
35	Chaumukhji Tunk Main temple (Khartar Vasi or Sava Somji Tunk)	Rebuilt 1618/9	Sava Somji from Ahmedabad, of the Khartar Gaccha
35-1	Pundarikswami shrine	1618/9	Surjinath of Ahmedabad
36	Chipa Vasi (Ajit Shanti Dehri)	14 <sup>th</sup> C; 1735/1751	Sah Lalchand Surachand (1731) and two by Surji Mala Sangh of Patan
37	Marudevi Temple	14 <sup>th</sup> C	Modern replacement of 14 <sup>th</sup> C temple
38	Narshi Keshavji Tunk; main temple	1862/1864	
39	Shantinath Temple	1848	Replacement of 14 <sup>th</sup> C temple
39-D	No name; Front of 38	1848	Narsinath of Bombay
39-X	Vallabh Kund	1900	Jetabhai and Muljibhai, Narsi Keshavji's sons; his clerk Vallabhai Vastra
40	Angar Shah Pir Shrine		
41	Nav Tunk Gate		
42	Gheti Pag Gate		

**Appendix D. Table of Shatrunjaya Patas.**

#	Title	Date	Repository	Publication
1	<i>Pancha Tirtha Pata</i>	1433	Divided between the Jain Tadapatriya Pustak Bhandar and the LD Museum, Ahmedabad.	Moti Chandra, <i>Jain Miniature Paintings of Western India</i> , 51. N.C. Mehta, "A Picture Roll from Gujarat," 71 S. Andhare, "Painted Banners" From Champaraner
2	<i>Tirtha Pata</i> with Parsvanath	Not later than 1450	Ananda Coomaraswamy	Chandra, <i>Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India</i> . P.47.
3	<i>Tirtha Pata</i> with Mantras	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> C	Acc. #2011, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Talwar and Krishna, Pl.103
4	<i>Tirtha Pata</i> with Mahavira(?)	Early 15 <sup>th</sup> C	San Diego Museum of Art	<i>Domains of Wonder</i>
5	<i>Tirtha Pata</i> with Parsvanath	15 <sup>th</sup> or early 16 <sup>th</sup> C	Collection of Muni Amaravijayaji	Chandra, , Fig 188.
6	<i>Vividha Tirtha Pata</i>	1641	Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, Ahmedabad	U.P. Shah, <i>TJB</i> p.88 #535 Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6
7	<i>Vividha Tirtha Pata</i>	1641 (vs 1698)	Samvegi Jain Upashraya, Ahmedabad	Andhare, "Painted Banners on Cloth: Vividha-tirtha-pata of Ahmedabad," Marg
8	<i>Panca Tirtha Pata</i>	1675	Prachy Vidya Pratishtan, Ahmedabad	n.p.
9	<i>Tirtha Pata</i>	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> to early 18 <sup>th</sup> C	Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York	W. Norman Brown
10	<i>Tirtha Pata</i>	1792	LD Museum of Art	n.p. From Bikaner
11	Shatrunjaya Pata	18 <sup>th</sup> C?	Museum of Jain Art, Palitana	n.p.
12	Shatrunjaya Pata	19 <sup>th</sup> C	Acc.#. 1095, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Talwar and Krishna, Pl. 89 Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6 u-iv
13	Shatrunjaya Pata	c. 1750	Paul F. Walter Collection (sold to museum in New	Pal, Fig 43; 117A. From Jaipur

			Jersey)	
14	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Acc.# 3056, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Talwar and Krishna, Pl. 88. Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6 u-ii
15	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	c.1800	Collection of Shri Mahavir Jain Asadhana, Koba, Gandhinagar	n.p.
16	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	c.1800	Antwerp	Steps of Liberation
17	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	n.d.	Acc.# 342, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Ac.# 342. n.p.
18	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Acc.# 1043, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Talwar and Krishna, Pl. 87 Gole, Plate 14. Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6 u-i
19	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	c. 1800	Navin Kumar Gallery, New York	From Mewar, Rajasthan. Pal, 117B. Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6 v.
20	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	c. 1800- 1850	Carola Pestelli Collection	Pal, 117C. Figs 45, 47.
21	Shatrunjaya <i>Pata</i>	Repainted 1885	Acc.# 1137, Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad	Repainted in Kishangarh. Talwar and Krishna, Pl.86 Schwartzberg, Appendix 17.6 u-iii

#### Appendix E. Deeds of Agreement between the Thakurs and the Jains

1. Engagement, dated VS 1707 (1651 CE). Signed by Gohel Kandhajee, Bai Pudmajee, Bai Pattumday; Sha Santidas Seskurn and Rutna Sura and the *sangh*
2. Deed of Agreement, dated 1821. Signed by Gohel Kandhaji and Noghanji; Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi.
3. Award, dated 1863. Colonel R.H. Keatinge.
4. Bombay Government Resolution No. 1641, dated 1877.
5. Government Resolution No. 2016, dated 1886.
6. Mr. Watson's Decision, no. P/59 of 1926, dated 1926.

1. Engagement between ancestors of present Thakor and community

“In the year Sumvat 1707 Kartik Vud 13<sup>th</sup> Tuesday, Gohel Shri Kandhajee and Bharajee and Hamirjee and Bai Pudmajee and Bai Pattumday, do write that we perform the “Chowkee Pora” [watch and guard] of the Shri Shetrunga and do the “Chowkee Pora” of the “Sungh” [a band of pilgrims] therefore on that account “Purth” [stipulation] has been concluded with Shah Santidas Seskurn and Rutna Sura and the whole of the Sungh (Community). In regard to the Sunghs visiting Shri Shetrunga to the “Chutias” coming to perform the ceremonies of “Chuth” [two days’ fast and eating on third day; so on for a month] and to those coming on foot, we have given an Agreement, which we shall observe like the word of our father, and the details of which are that we shall do the “Chowki Pora” of the Sungh resorting to Shri Shetrunga, and we shall go to receive the Sungh coming there, and then obtain as per following detail: a maund of Sookdee and 25 Jamees [about three Jamees equal to one Rupee] for clothes, Large Sunghs and Sungh of Chutias and those coming on foot resorting to the place “Malnoo” shall not be levied; 2 1/2 Jamees (two-and-a-half in figures) shall be levied from a cart. Nothing shall be levied from those coming by foot with large Sunghs. Carts belonging to Sunghvee and others which are entitled to exemption shall be exempted, nothing more shall be taken.

Again, from those coming on foot to perform the ceremony of “Chutee,” Jamees (60) sixty per one hundred men shall be taken. Malnoo shall not be demanded; besides from those other persons who may come on foot half a Jamee per man shall be levied; nothing more shall be taken from Sunghs coming to perform pilgrimage to Shri Shetrunga, payments shall be demanded accordingly from all the 84 “Guch” and that we shall observe this Agreement binding as the word of our father and as witnessed by Shri Adeshwur and Shri Runchorjee. Nothing shall be taken from the Karkhana, nor shall anything be taken from “Tupa Guch.”

Here are the signatures: Gohel Kandhajee. Bai Pudmajee. Bai Pattumday.

Witnesses: Gohel Gamuljee. Gohel Lukhumanjee. Shah Bhemjee. Shah Jugmalljee. Thakore Purbhatjee. Dossa Kudva.

I Dossa Kudva Natha write that should what has been written above not be acted up to, I shall answer for it in Ahmedabad.

I Bhat Purbha Narayen write to say that should this Agreement be not acted up to, I, having become security, shall answer for it in Ahmedabad, and as the Bhats have become guarantees, it shall be observed.”

## 2. The Deed of Agreement of 1821.

“Written by Gohel Shri Kandhaji and (his) son Noghanji. To wit (to) Set Anandji Kalianji inhabitant of Palitana. To wit: a company of Shravaks and the divers men come on a pilgrimage to Palitana, upon them is (leviable) our dues for the protection (given them) All those our rights (namely) on account of the hill, and the Bhats and Rajgars and servants, traders, &c. and all other dues inclusive in the lump (amount to) Rs. 4,500, in figures Forty-five hundred, in full per annum. The items thereof (are as below).

Payable to the Durbar ...	4,000
Payable to the Rajgars ...	250

Payable to the whole of the Bhats ... 250

Total 4,500

As thus described for ten year (i.e. from the 15<sup>th</sup> of Kartak Sud of S. (Samvat) 1878 (9<sup>th</sup> November 1821) to the 15<sup>th</sup> of Kartak sud of S. (Samvat) 1888 (19<sup>th</sup> November 1831) for Rs. 45,000, in figures forty-five thousand, in full of the sicca (currency) we have given (the dues) to you, through honoured Captain Barnwell Saheb, Political Agent Saheb of the honourable Company Bahadur. Now in accordance with what is written above, Do you be pleased to pay and continue paying (the amount) every year for 10 ten years. We will thoroughly guard and protect the company (of Shrawaks) of divers people who shall arrive on a pilgrimage and we will not allow the pilgrim people to suffer annoyance in any respect. Should any person sustain loss by robbery (or theft) then for that we will make restitution. We will allow a deduction (for loss by) calamities (such as) seditions, visitations from heaven and acts of sovereigns or Governments. On account thereof, i.e. for that property (so lost &c.), we will give credit for more at a future time than the (amount of the above) agreement. The amount of that (loss) we will carry on to the future (account) according to the payments. And after the expiration of the time as long as you shall pay the amount in future years according to the agreement, we (i.e. Thakoor) will act up (to what is agreed to) according to the agreement. Further; (the dues) for pilgrimage for Sett Santidas' descendants are always forgiven on the 2 sides. You are also to act up to that. In this way (this) has been given in writing. It is valid. The Lunar dated the 15<sup>th</sup> of Magsur Sud in that S. (Samvat) year 1878, the English date the 9<sup>th</sup> of the month of December 1821.

Here is the attestation of Shri Jagdis &c., &c.

Here are the signatures: The signature of Gohel Kandhaji and Noghanji as above (In English as follows): This arrangement has been concurred by the parties in my presence and appears well calculated to protect the just interests of all parties.

(Sd.) R. Barnwell, P.A.

A true translation copy, Signed Flynn, translator. Bombay 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1863."

### 3. Decision by Major Keating and Award of Rs. 10,000

"The Shrawuck Community represented by Shet Dayabhai Unopchund. Sha Tacursee Punjasha. Against the Thakoor Saheb of Palitana.

Claim: the continuance in perpetuity of a guaranteed agreement regarding the Pilgrim tax taken from persons visiting the Shrines on the Shetroonjee Hill.

As directed in the letters of Government No. 1722 of 4<sup>th</sup> June 1902 [sic] and of 13<sup>th</sup> June 1865, I proceed to make, to the best of my ability, an equitable arrangement between the contending parties.

It is not my intention to review in any way the history of the quarrel, as within the last year it has been twice reported upon.

1stly, by Major W.W. Anderson on the 15<sup>th</sup> January 1865, and 2ndly, by myself in my report dated 25<sup>th</sup> April 1863—both these reports are annexed.

2<sup>nd</sup>. It is desirable that two errors in Honourable Mr. Anderson's letter No. 1902 of 13<sup>th</sup> June, should be pointed out as having attracted notice and been enquired into before the representatives of the contending parties.

- 1) Annundjee Kallianjee is not the name of an individual. It is the designation of a Firm organized by the Shrawuck Community to receive and control the Treasures of the Temples.
- 2) The Statement in the 7<sup>th</sup> paragraph is erroneous, the Palitana Chief holds no Sunnud from the Delhi Court, and there is unfortunately no record of any authorized scale of Taxation on Pilgrims.

3<sup>rd</sup>. The chief of Palitana governs his own territory and under ordinary circumstances would make his own rules for the taxation of the pilgrims and for their admission to the Shetrunga hill within his boundary and immediately overhanging his capital. The Shrawuck Community, however, claim our interposition in their favor on two separate grounds:

- 1) As holders of a Sanad from the Delhi court, conferring Palitana and the Hill on Santidas, the King's jeweler, one of their Community
- 2) On account of a lease executed by the Thakore in the year 1821 before the Political Agent which they state to be binding in perpetuity

4<sup>th</sup>. The Sanad is dated the 30<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Shah Jahan about A.D. 1657. it would be an interesting study to trace what the real power of the Delhi court in Kathiawad was at that period and how far it had the power to enforce such a gift. I have, however, searched in vain for any authentic information on this matter. I remark, however that the exact period of the grant was one of utter anarchy in the empire, being the year in which Shah Jahan was dethroned by his son Aurangzeb.

5<sup>th</sup>. Between the year 1657, and 1808, there was however, abundant time for change, and the fact is undoubted that in the latter year when Colonel Walker first extended British influence into Kattywar, we found Chief of Palitana, a Gohel Rajpoot, in possession of the Estate he now holds, paying a tribute to the Guicowar of Baroda and levying fees on all Pilgrims visiting the Shrines on the Hill. The Palitana Estate was at that period nearly ruined; the Chief was incapable of managing his own affairs, was at enmity with his own son, and was deeply indebted to one of the Shrawuck Community. The latter class possessed then, as they do now, the great influence consequent on a close combination amongst themselves and unbounded wealth which made them the creditors of almost every Chief in Guzerat. Our interference in their behalf was constant, but it was never proposed that an attempt should be made to revive the terms of Sha-Jahan's grant by encroaching upon the rights of the Palitana Chief. ....

14<sup>th</sup>. Bearing in mind, the peculiar relations of the parties concerned to one another and keeping in view the political status of the Chief of Palitana on the one hand and on the other the consideration due to the devout feelings of a large and influential sect, I make the following decision:

**15<sup>th</sup>. The collection of the pilgrim tax is to continue with the Shrawak Community, but the amount payable to the Thakore Saheb of Palitana is to be subject to the revisal every ten years.** The year is to commence on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January.

16<sup>th</sup>. From the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1864 the Shrawuck Community are to pay at the rate of ten thousand Rupees yearly (10,000) on account of "Kur" or Pilgrim Tax; this sum to include every other minor tax such as Mulnoo, Nuzerana, and Wullawa. I have settled this sum after mature consideration, under a full impression that the state of the Shrawuck treasury, and the number of Pilgrims visiting the shrines quite warrant such an increase in the yearly payment.

17<sup>th</sup>. This order as regards the amount of payment to be considered binding and unalterable for the period of two years viz. to the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1865.

18<sup>th</sup>. At any time after that date either party are to be at liberty to call for a revision of amount payable for the redemption of the tax; a scrutiny is then to be made under the rules provided below, and the result arrived at is to continue in force for ten years—or as much longer as the parties concerned may wish. ...

22<sup>nd</sup>. The rate is to be determined by an actual count of the Pilgrims visiting the Shrines, and as it is necessary to provide against unfair means being used either to increase or decrease the number of Pilgrims visiting the Temples during the period of the enumeration the chief civil authority should be at liberty to extend his scrutiny over a period of two years and to make his count continuous or intermittent during that period. ...

25<sup>th</sup>. The amount is to be determined by assuming that each Pilgrim pays two rupees for Pilgrim Tax or "kur."

26<sup>th</sup>. The only exceptions to be allowed are as follows:

- I. The descendants of Set Santidass.
- II. All Priests and paid servants permanently attached to the temples on the Hill
- III. The Thakoor of Palitana, his relation and his paid servants
- IV. Persons who have permanently resided in this Town of Palitana for one year and who with constantly ascend the Hill. This may be assumed to pay a yearly fee of five rupees in lieu of the sum of two rupees for each visit.

27<sup>th</sup>. I owe some apology to the Thakoor of Palitana and to the representatives of the Shrawuck sect for the long delay of three months that has occurred in arriving at this decision. If I have been slow it has been because I was excessively anxious to frame a scheme which by its fairness and moderation would put a period to the illfeeling which has so long existed in connection with the subject.

Katt. Political Agency

Camp Wadhwan

5<sup>th</sup> December 1863.

Sd. R.H. Keatinge, Political Agent

4. "Bombay Government Resolution No. 1641. Political Department. Bombay Castle, 16<sup>th</sup> March 1877.

...

Resolution—The settlement between the Thakore of Palitana and the Shrawuks made by Colonel Keating in 1863, confirmed by this Government in 1866 and the Secretary of State in 1867, was afterwards held not to have included the question

of the Thakore's right to levy a price for the ground taken for any new temple which the Shrawuk community might wish to build on the Shatrunjay hill, and this point, under date February 24<sup>th</sup> 1875, was referred to Mr. Peile, the Political Agent in Kattywar, for enquiry and decision, finding that the matter would take a long time to settle, and that an intricate enquiry would be necessary, Mr. Peile referred the matter to his Judicial Assistant Mr. Candy, who decided under date 28<sup>th</sup> December 1875. ...Upon a consideration of the whole case therefore His Excellency in Council directs that the dispute between the Thakore of Palitana and the Shrawuks be settled on the following terms.

- 1) **Within the Gudh the control of the Thakore shall be recognized only for purposes of Police. No money payment shall be claimed by him on account of the erection of a new temple in a Tunk within the Gudh.**
- 2) **Without prejudice to the rights of those interested in any existing building, the use of any part of the hill in a manner opposed to the tenets of the Shrawuk community is prohibited.**
- 3) **No money payment shall be claimed on account of any temple already in existence, either outside or within the Gudh.**
- 4) **In the event of the Shrawuk community desiring to erect a new temple outside of the Gudh, permission shall be given by the Thakore on receipt of one rupee per square yard for land.**
- 5) **No molestation shall be offered to the members of the Shrawuk community resorting to the hill; nor shall any permanent Police post be established at the Gudh or within 500 yards of the road leading up the hill to the Gudh.**

(Sd.) C. Gonner, Secretary to Government

To the Political Agent, Kattywar

Note: the memorialists have been referred to the Political Agent.

No. 608 of 1877.

Copy forwarded to the Assistant Political Agent, Gohelwad

Copy also given to Palitana and Seth Anundji Kalianji.

J.B. Peile, Political Agent. Kattywar, Pol. Agent's Office, Camp Veraval, 5<sup>th</sup> April

5. "Agreement between the Thakore Saheb Mansinhji of Palitana and the Jain Community.

- 1) **The Thakore Saheb of Palitana agrees to receive, and the Jain community agrees to pay, a fixed sum of Rupees fifteen thousand (Rs. 15,000). In consideration of this annual payment to the Palitana Chief, the Palitana Darbar agrees that no further dues of any kind will be levied from the Jain community on account of pilgrimage taxes. This sum of Rs. 15,000 will be due on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April of each successive year, it includes police protection "Malnu [pilgrim tax] &c."**
- 2) **The Thakore Saheb consents and the Jain community agrees that this arrangement shall continue for forty (40) years, from the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1886.**

3) After the expiration of these forty years, either party shall be at liberty to ask for a modification [*sic*] of the fixed annual sum mentioned in the first paragraph of this agreement. It will rest with the British Government after considering the respective arguments of the contending parties to grant or to withhold modification.

The above has been explained to me personally to the Thakor Saheb of Palitana, and to the leading Shrawaks, and both parties sign this agreement below in token of consent.

Signatures of Leading Shrawaks.

(Sd.) J.F.F. Premabhai Himabhai Sahi (in Gujarati)  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sahi) Jaiesimdhah Bhai Hathising (in Gujarati)  
(Sd.) J.F.F. (Sahi) Umabhai Hathising (in Gujarati)  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sd.) Mansookhbhai Bhagubhai  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sahi) Parashovandas Purasha (in Gujarati)  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sahi) Jaindradas (Bagasim Bhavamam) (in Gujarati)  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sd.) Balabhai Mancharam  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sd.) Talakckchand Maneckchand  
(Sd.) J.W.W. (Sd.) Dalpatbhai Bhagoobhai  
(Sd.) J.F.F. (Sahi) Chunilal Kesarisingh (in Gujarati)

All of these signed this in my presence with the exception of Premabhai Himabhai, Umabhai Hathising and Chunilal Kesharising who all signed before the Deputy Collector at Ahmedabad. (Sd.) John Watson, Political Agent, Kathiawar.

Signature of Durbar

(Sahi) Gohil Shri Mansinghji (in Gujarati) *The Thakore Saheb* (Sd.) J.W.W.  
Signed this in my presence. (Sd.) John W. Watson, Political Agent, Kathiawar.  
Palitana, March 8<sup>th</sup>, 1886.

This agreement has been ratified by H.E., the Governor in Council in Government Resolution No. 2016 of the 8<sup>th</sup> April 1886, in the Political Department, Camp Gopnath, April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1886.

(Sd.) John W. Watson, Political Agent, Kathiawar.

## 6. Mr. Watson's Decision, No. P/59 of 1926, Rajkot, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1926

...

(1) ... [by using the traffic figures of the Bhavnagar-Palitana Railway] In fixing the amount of the tax I propose to take the minimum number at Rs. 2/per head and **to allow the Darbar a sum of rupees one lakh (Rs. 100,000) in commutation of its right to levy the pilgrim taxes.** ...

(2) This arrangement should remain in force for ten years. It is desirable that sufficient time should lapse to enable the friction caused by the present controversy to die down and to give some chance of friendly relations being established between the parties. Within that period the Jains may have realized that they must accept the decision of the Secretary of State and when they are no longer contesting the sovereign rights of the Darbar it will be unnecessary for the latter to maintain meticulous restrictions

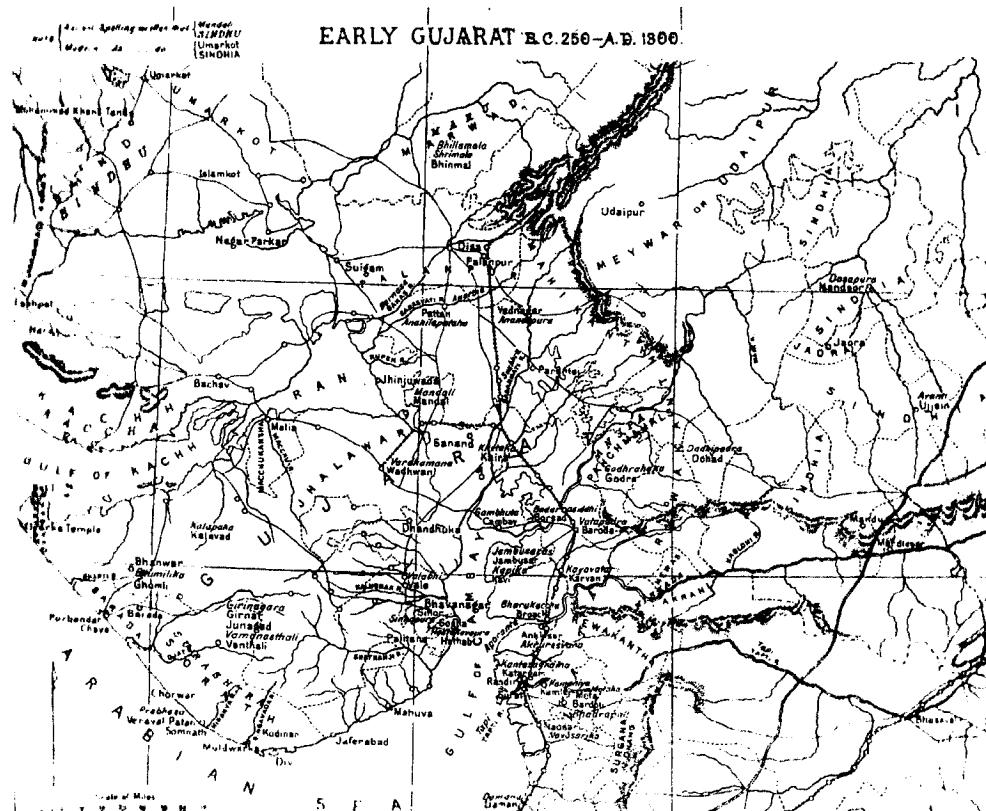
upon any possible extension of the present special privileges of the Jains. To make the period shorter would merely intensify the disputes and the next five years would be spent in manoeuvring for position before the next battle. It is undesirable to fix a longer period than ten years since conditions may change rendering a revision desirable in the interests of either party. Communications may improve still further causing even larger numbers of Jains to visit Palitana; while on the other hand unforeseen factors may arise which may make the shrines lose some of their present popularity. ...

Sd. C.C. Watson, Agent to the Governor-General in the States of Western India

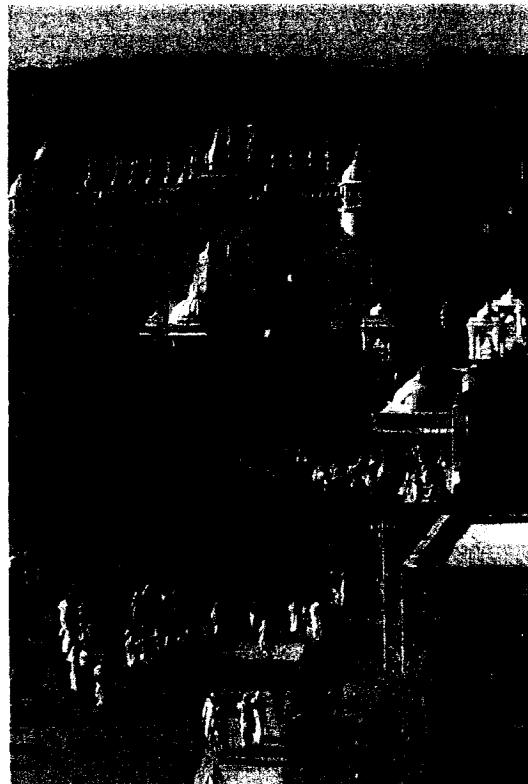
## Figures



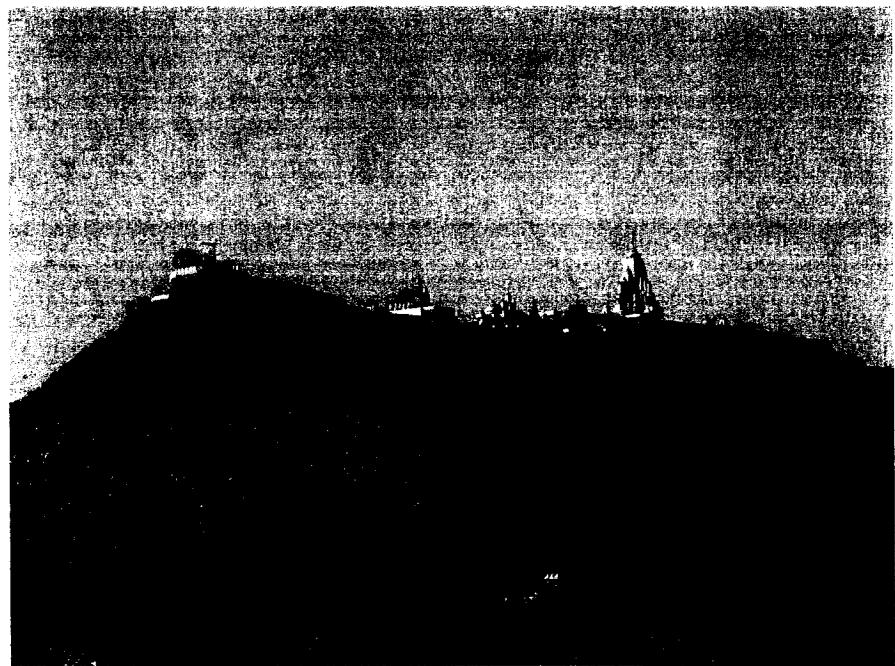
1-1. Distant view of Shatrunjaya Hill



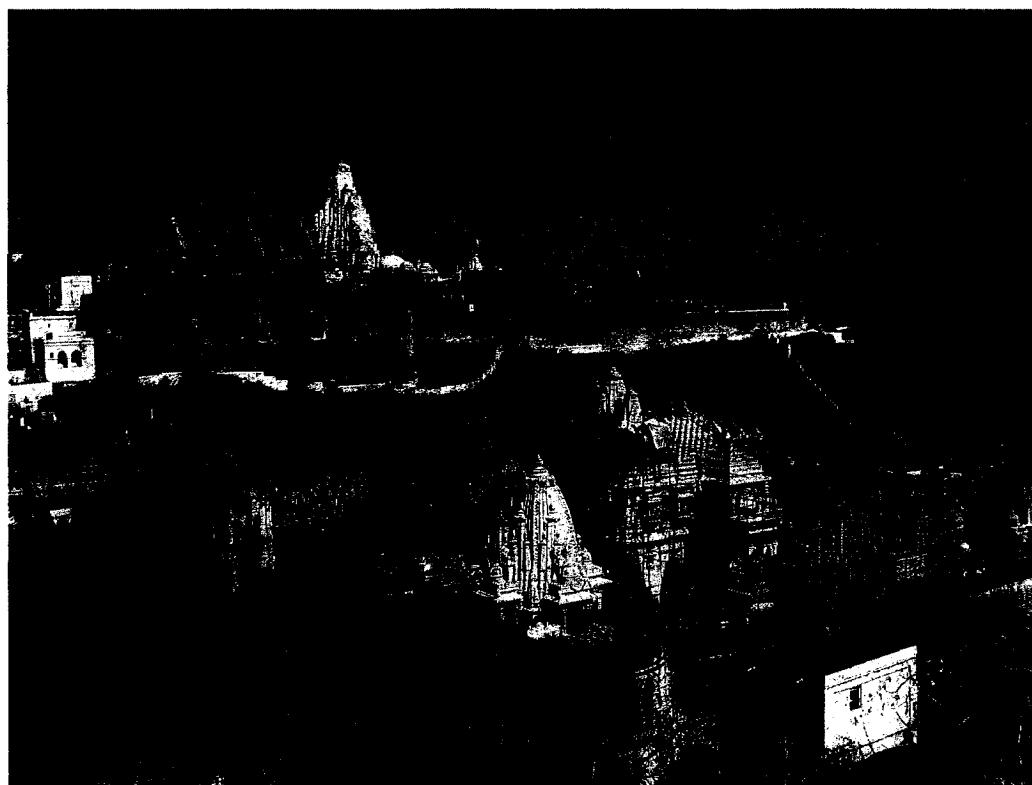
1-2. Map of Gujarat



1-3. Temples at the bottom of the Shatrunjaya Hill, where pilgrims start climbing from Taleti Road, Palitana. The Palitana office of the Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi is located on the left side of the road in this image.



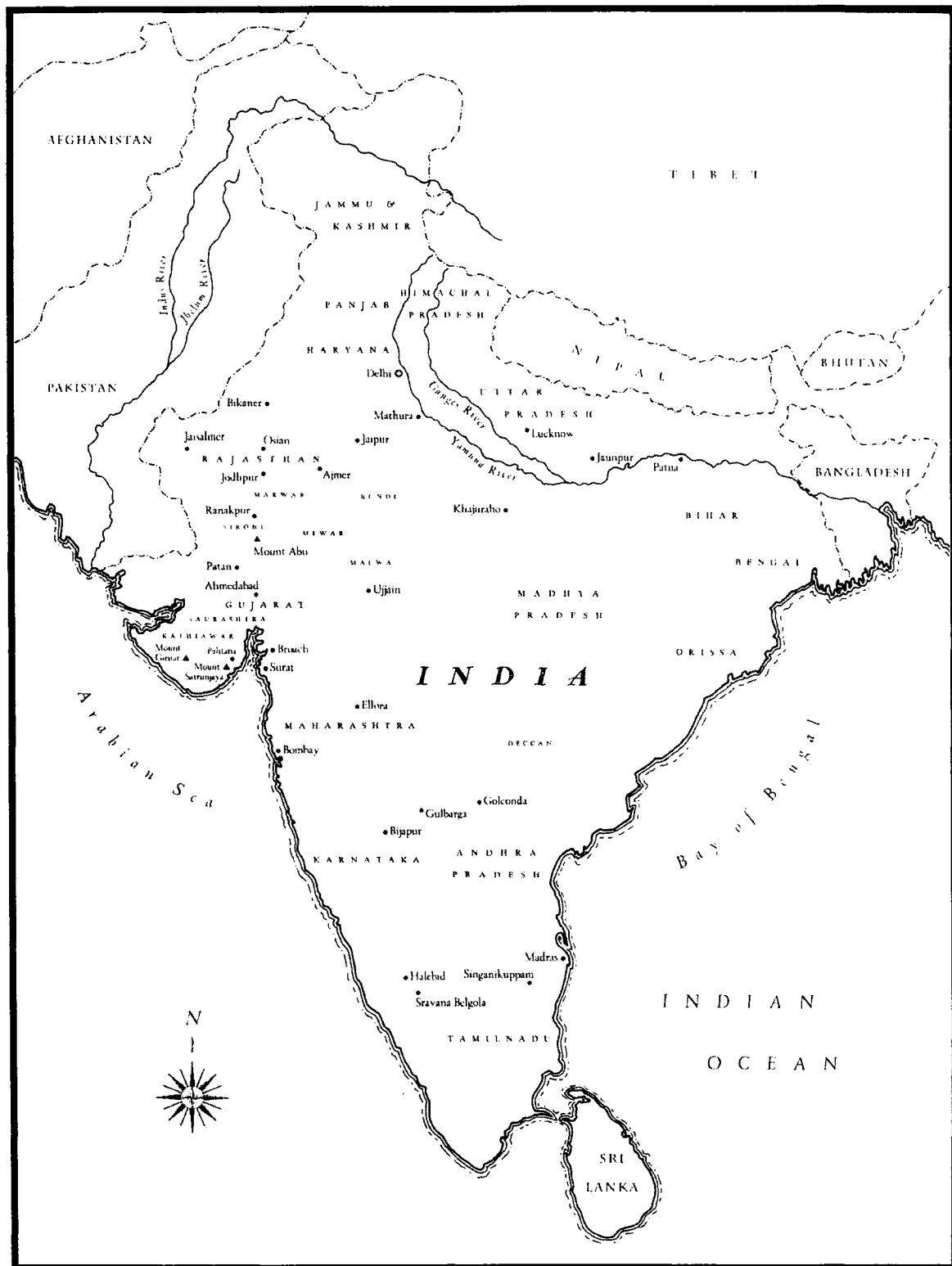
1-4. Distant View of northern summit, Shatrunjaya. This is the first view of the site when one is climbing up the hill.



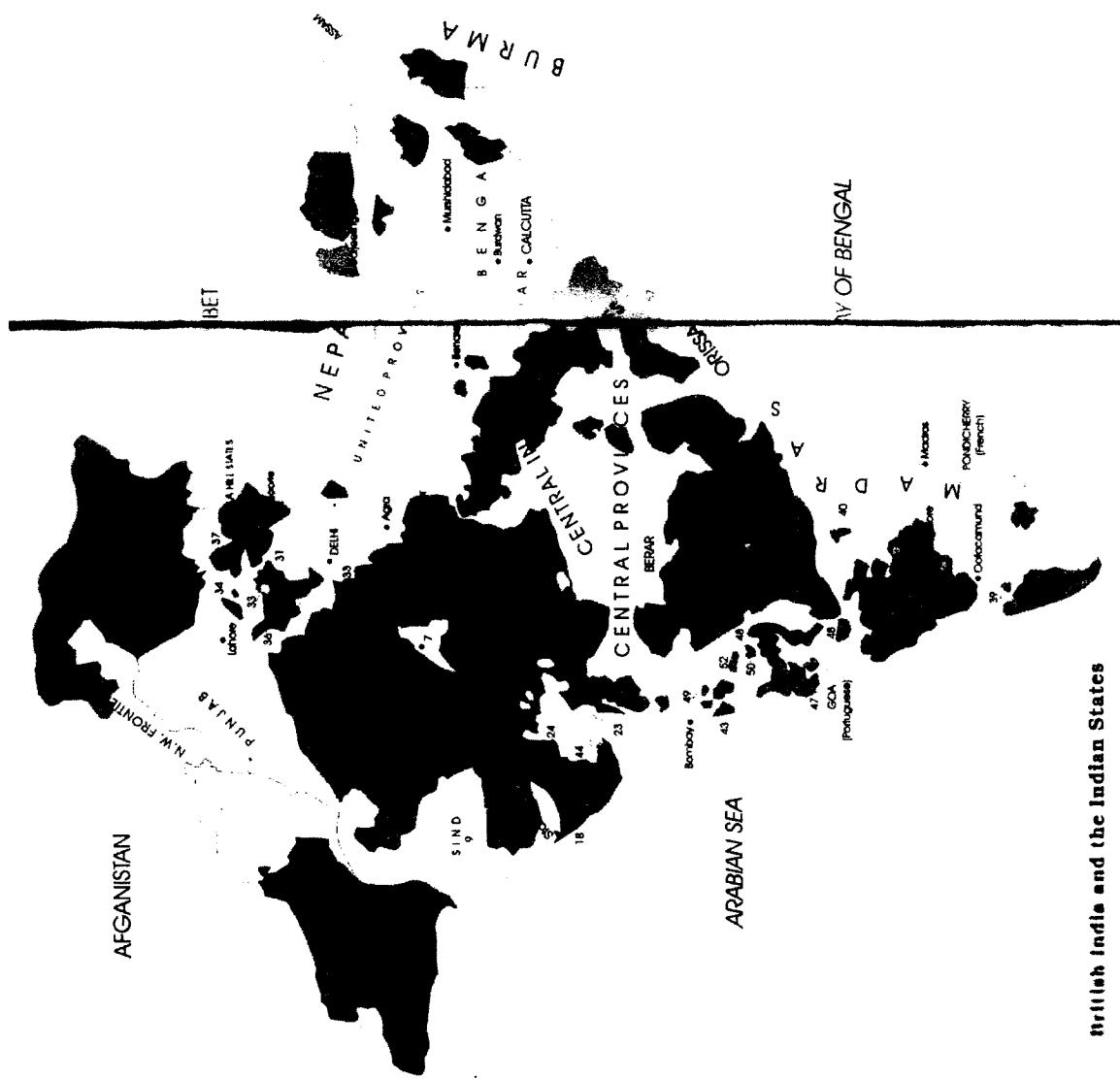
1-5. View of northern summit and valley temples of Shatrunjaya.



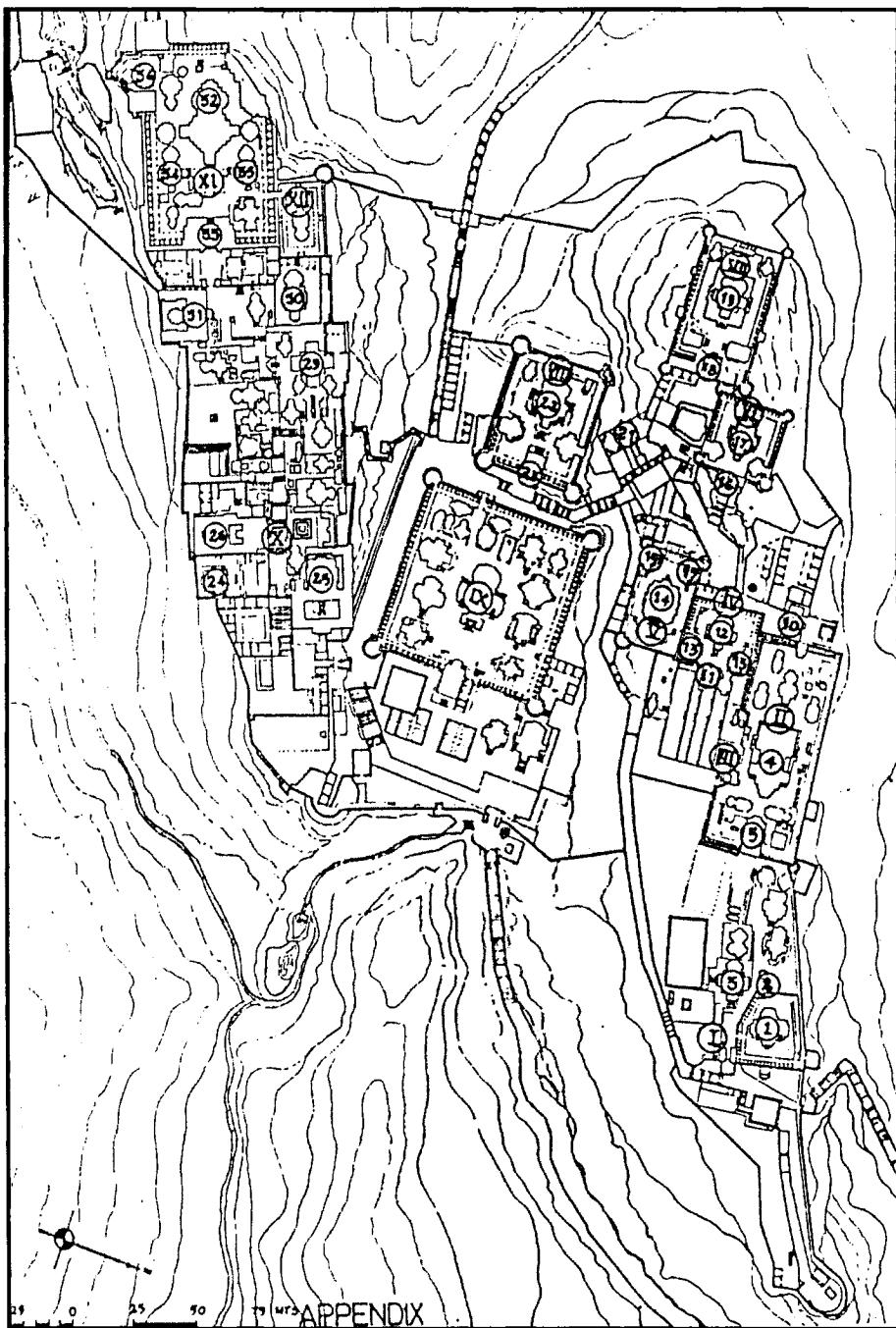
1-6. Path towards the Main Adishvara Temple, southern summit of Shatrunjaya.



1-7. Map of Jain sites in India



## 1-8. Map of British India and the Princely States.

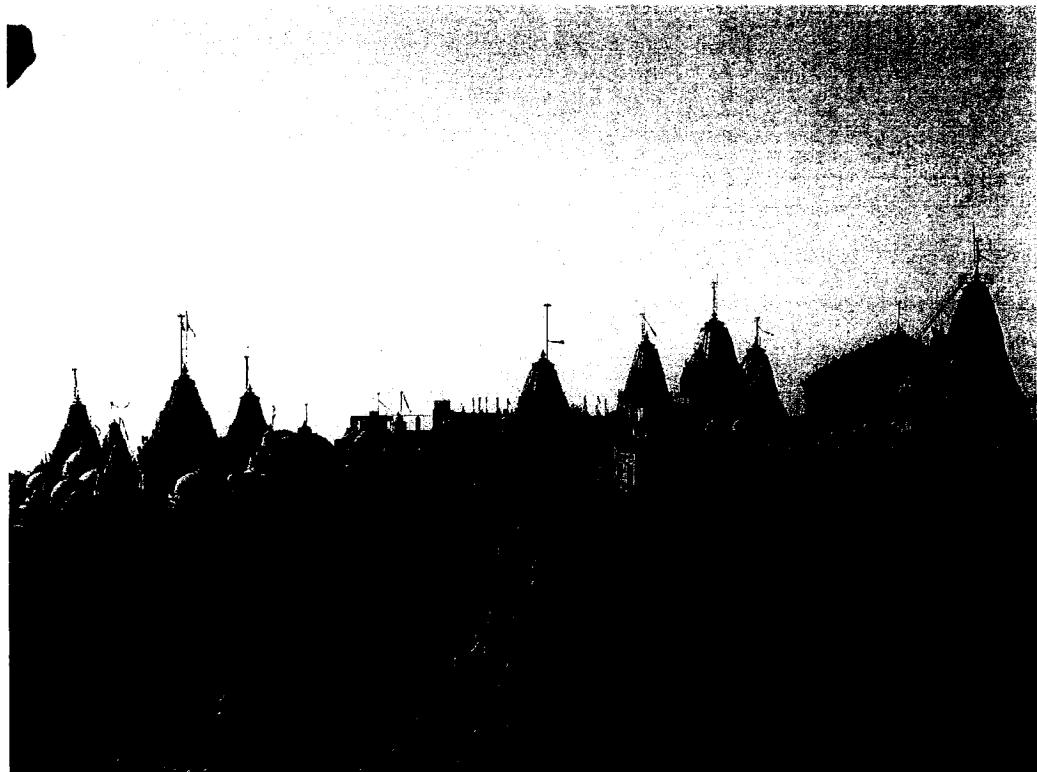


APPENDIX

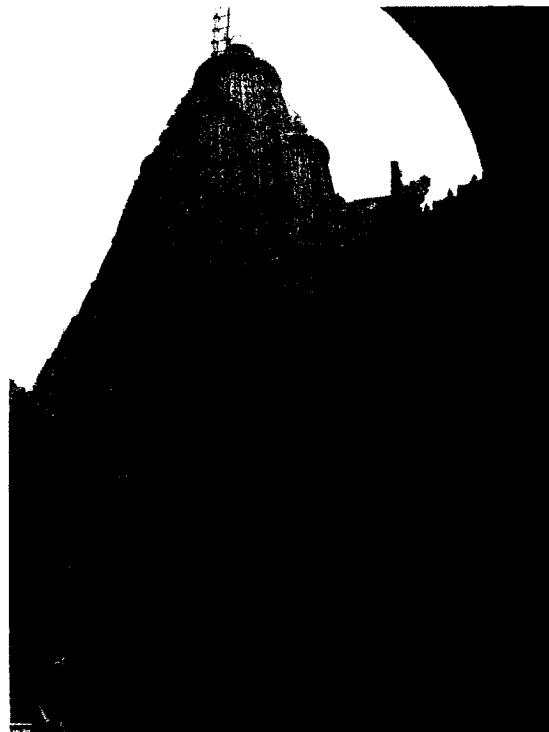
3-1. Map of Shatrunjaya. #32 at the left-hand top is the Main Adishvara Temple, within XI, Dadani Tunk (or the Adishvara Bhagavan Tunk), at the top of the southern summit. X is Vimal Vasi, the *tunk* before the Main Adishvara Temple. IX and VIII indicate Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk in the valley. #21 is the Adbaji Temple, on the steps heading upward to the northern summit. VII, VI, V, VI, III, II are respectively Modi Tunk, Premabhai Tunk, Ujambai Tunk, Sakar Shah Tunk, Chipa Vasi, and Chaumukh Tunk. The small structure jutting out to the lower right of the map is the shrine of Angar Shah Pir.



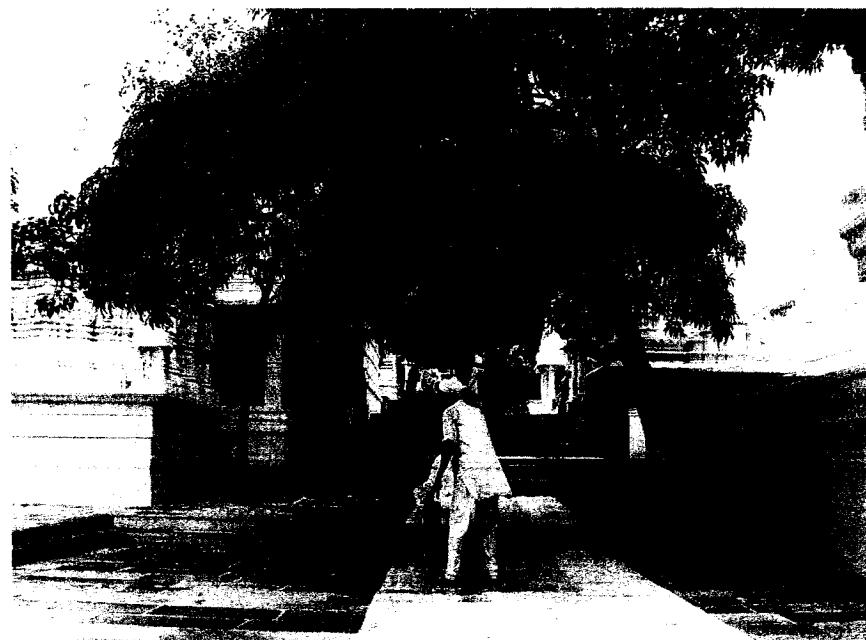
3-2. Main Adishvara Temple and Rayana tree (behind temple in background)



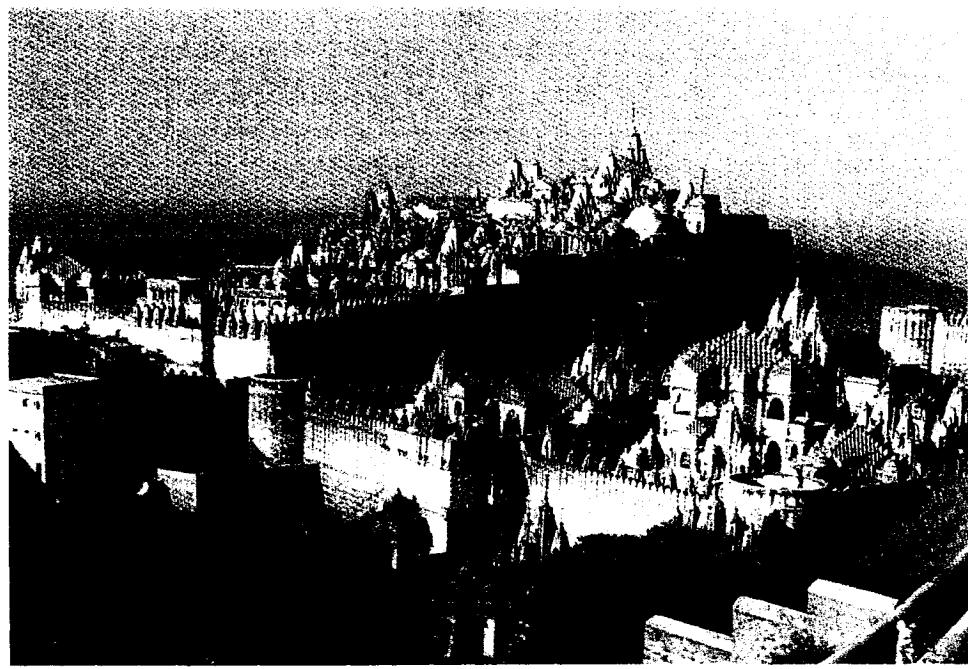
3-3. View of southern summit, with Main Adishvara Temple at far right



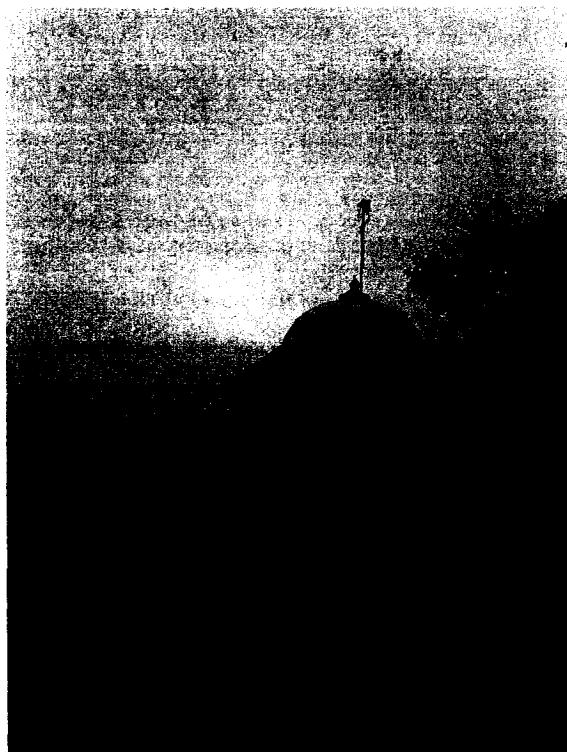
3-4. Main Adishvara Temple



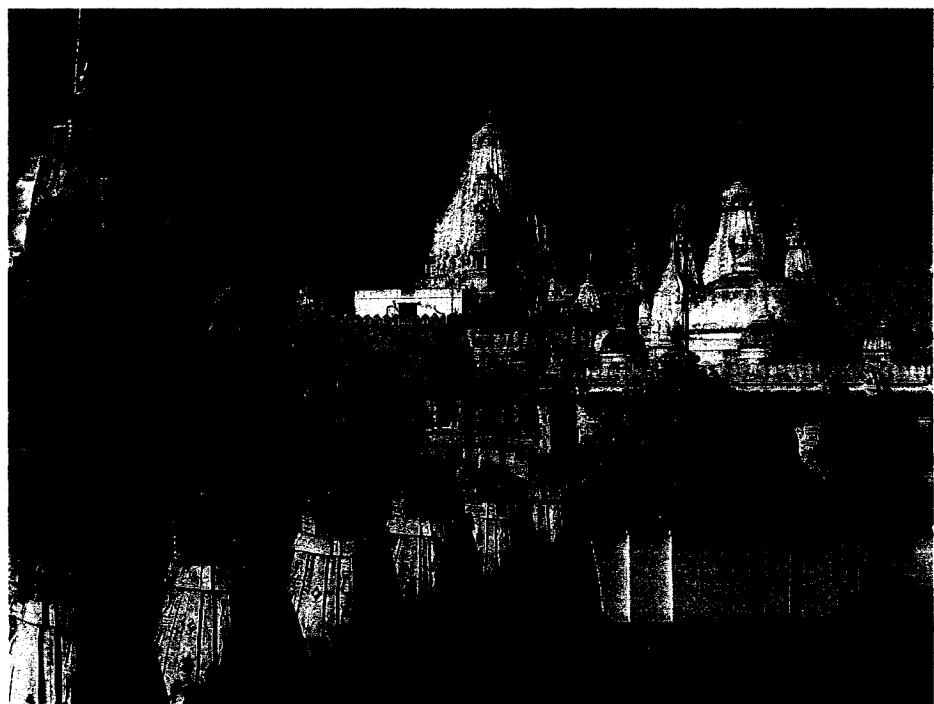
3-5. Path towards Main Adishvara Temple on southern summit



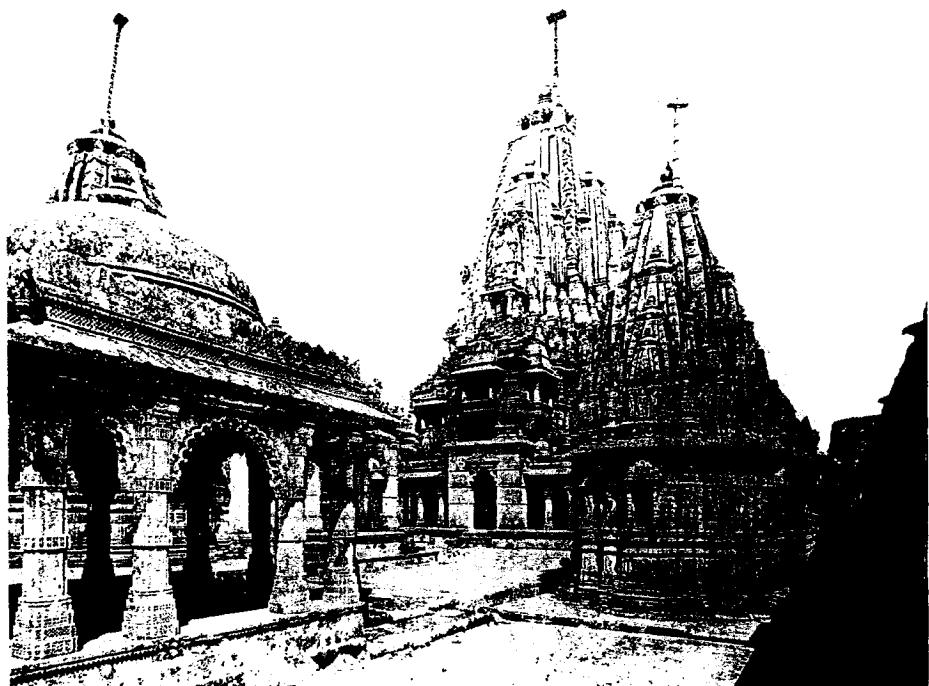
3-6. Valley temples in foreground, with southern summit in back



3-7 (1) and (2) Adbaji, with domed roof, and image of 18-feet Adinatha



3-8. Temples on northern summit.



3-9. Chaumukh Tunk, Caumukh Temple.



3-10. Shantinath Temple, Motishah Tunk. Shantinath Temple is the temple in center of *tunk* with renovations under progress.



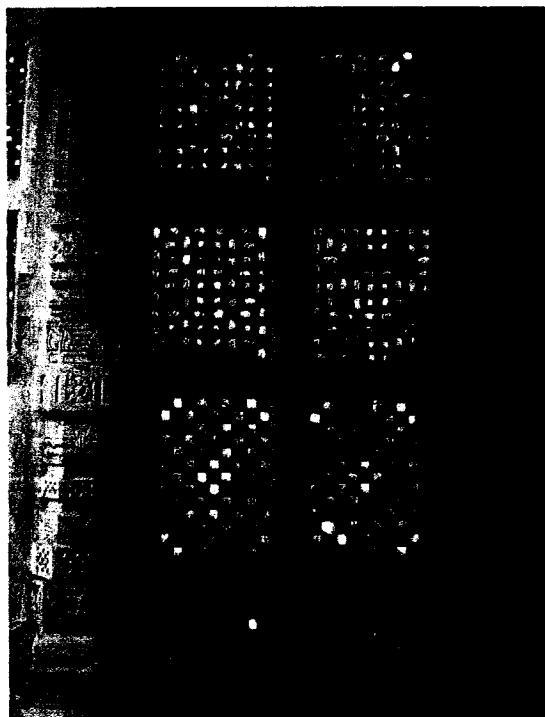
4-1. Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, Ujambai Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya



4-2. Inner shrine of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, Ujambai Tunk



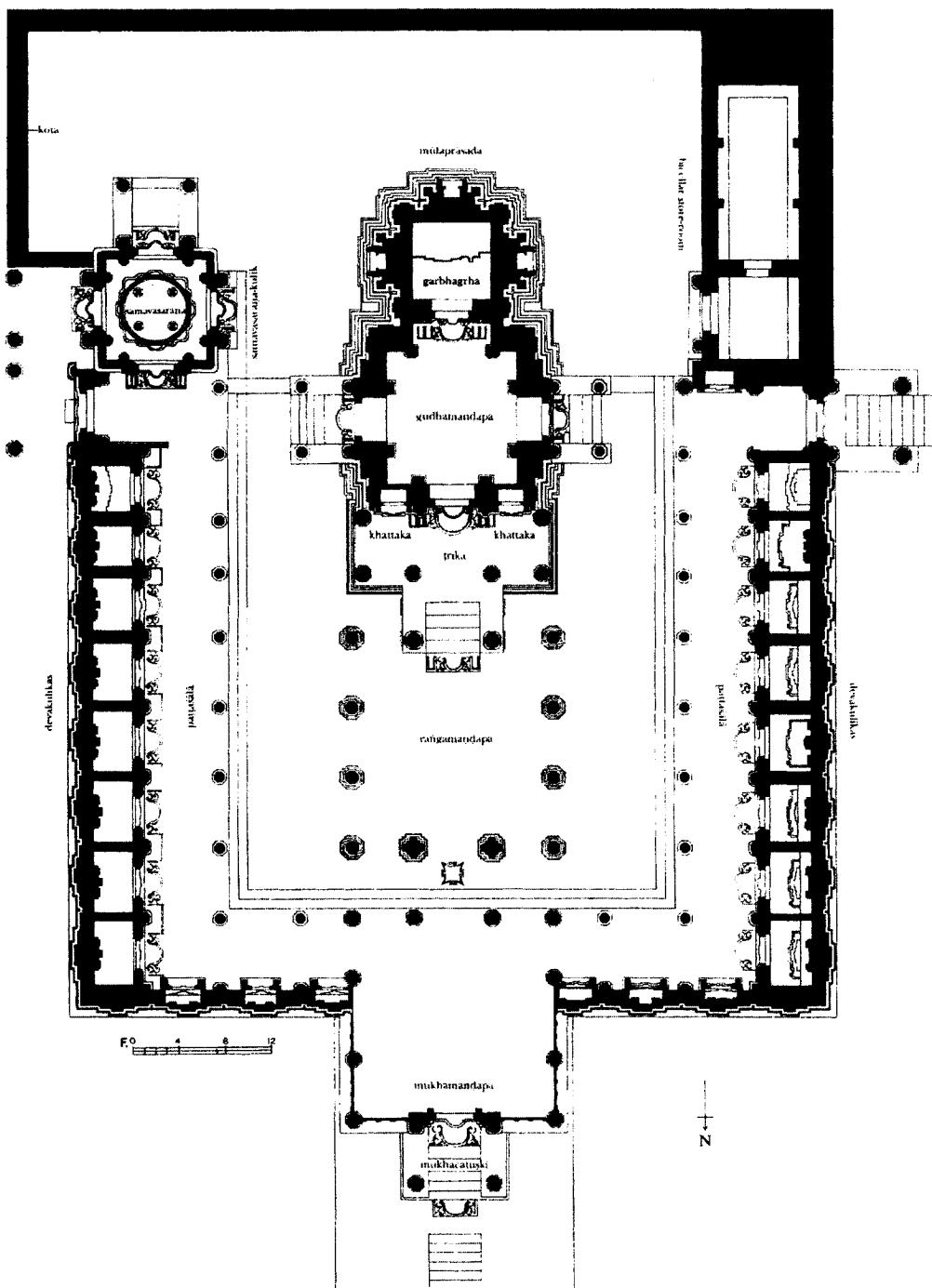
4-3. Screens of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, Exterior



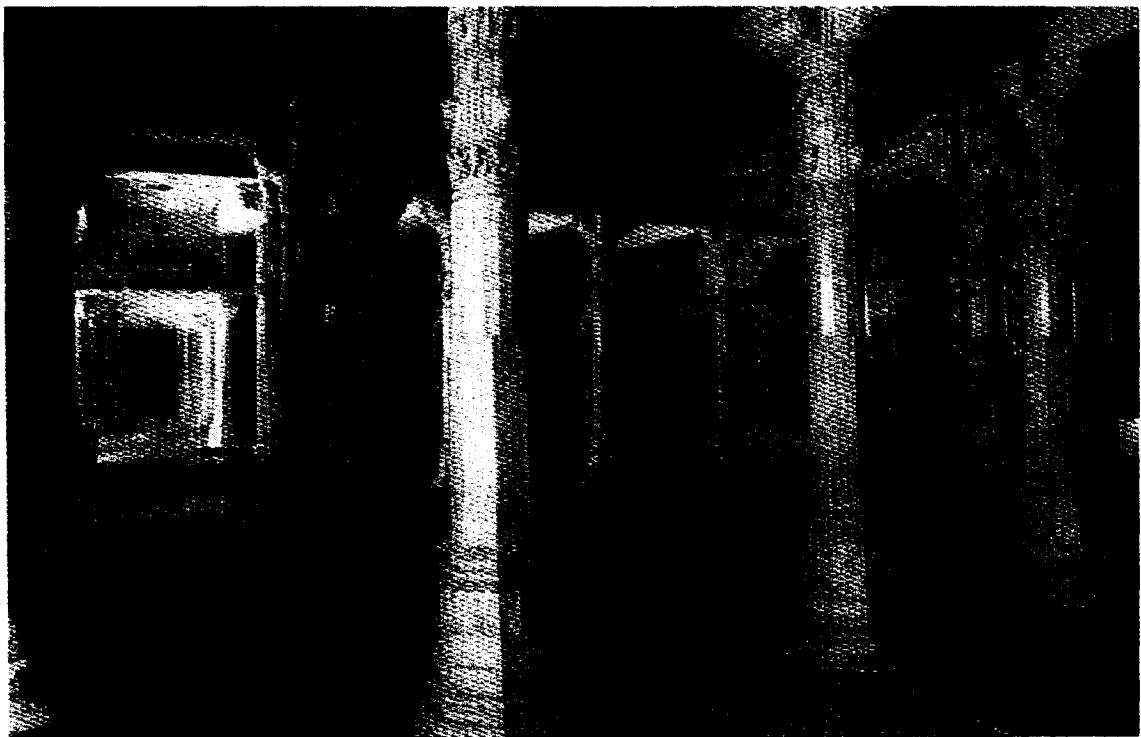
4-4. Screen of Nandishvara-dvipa Temple, interior



4-5. Balconies on *tunk* walls of Ujambai Tunk

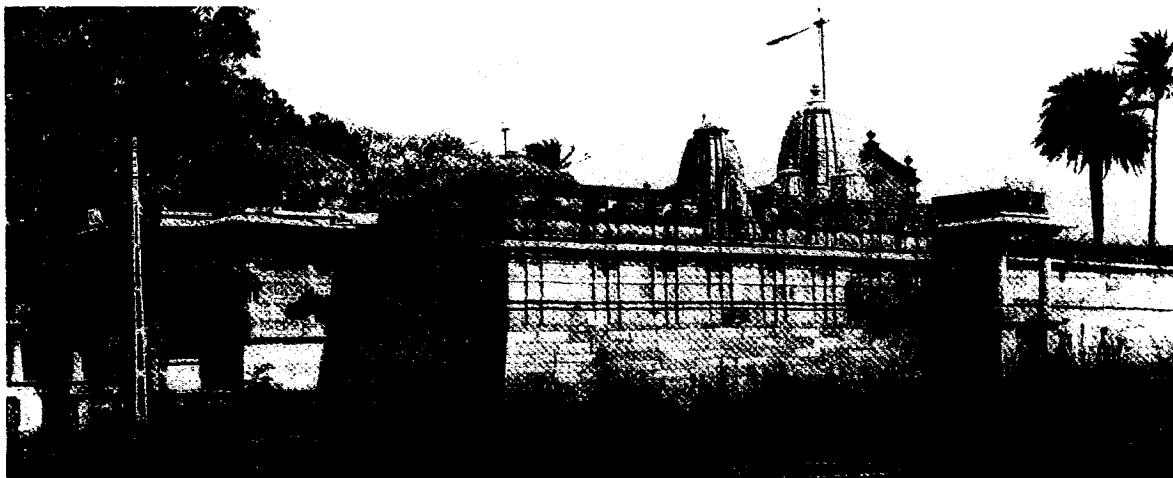


4-6. Plan of a Maru-Gurjara Jain temple. Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat, 1062.

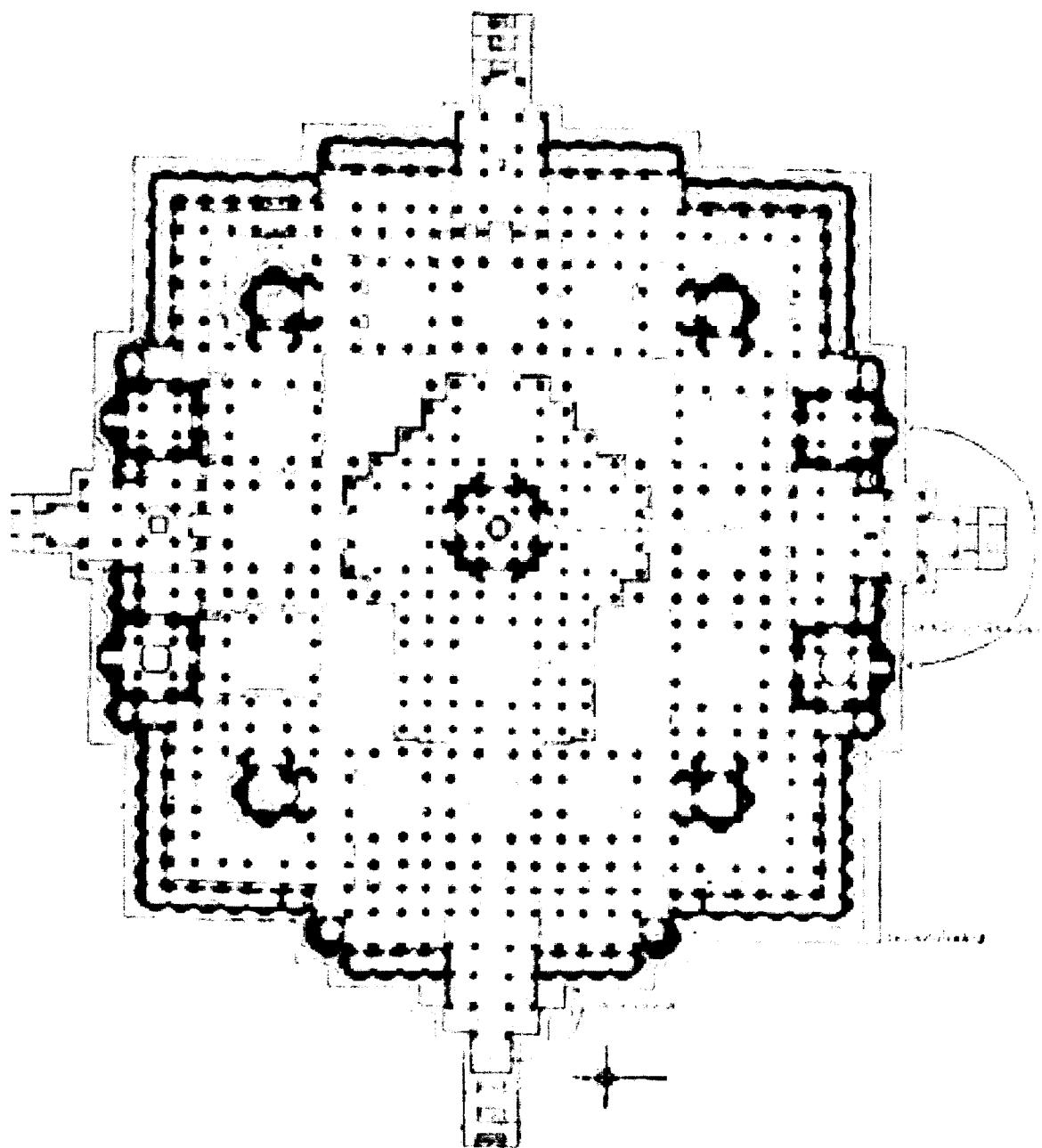


4-7. Interior of a Maru-Gurjara Jain Temple. Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat, 1062.

The main sanctum is to the left side of the image, where we can see the columns of the covered entrance hall (*gudhamandapa*) jutting out. The columns in the image support the concentric ceiling above the open entrance hall (*rangamandapa*), and to the back, we can see the subsidiary shrines (*devakulikas*).



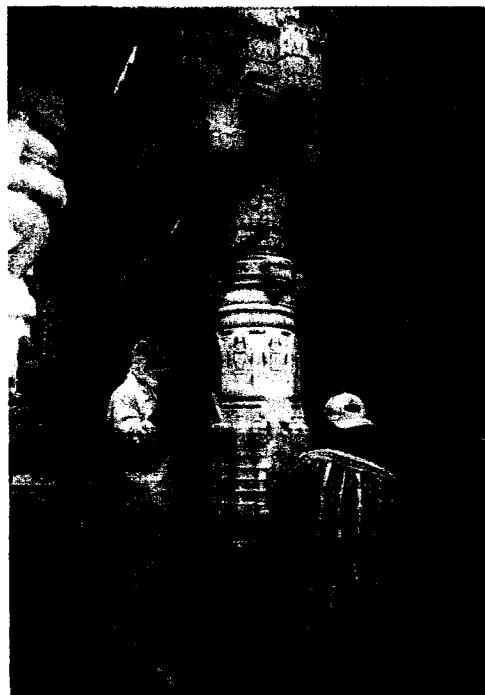
4-8. Exterior of Mahavira Temple, Kumbhariya, Gujarat, 1062.



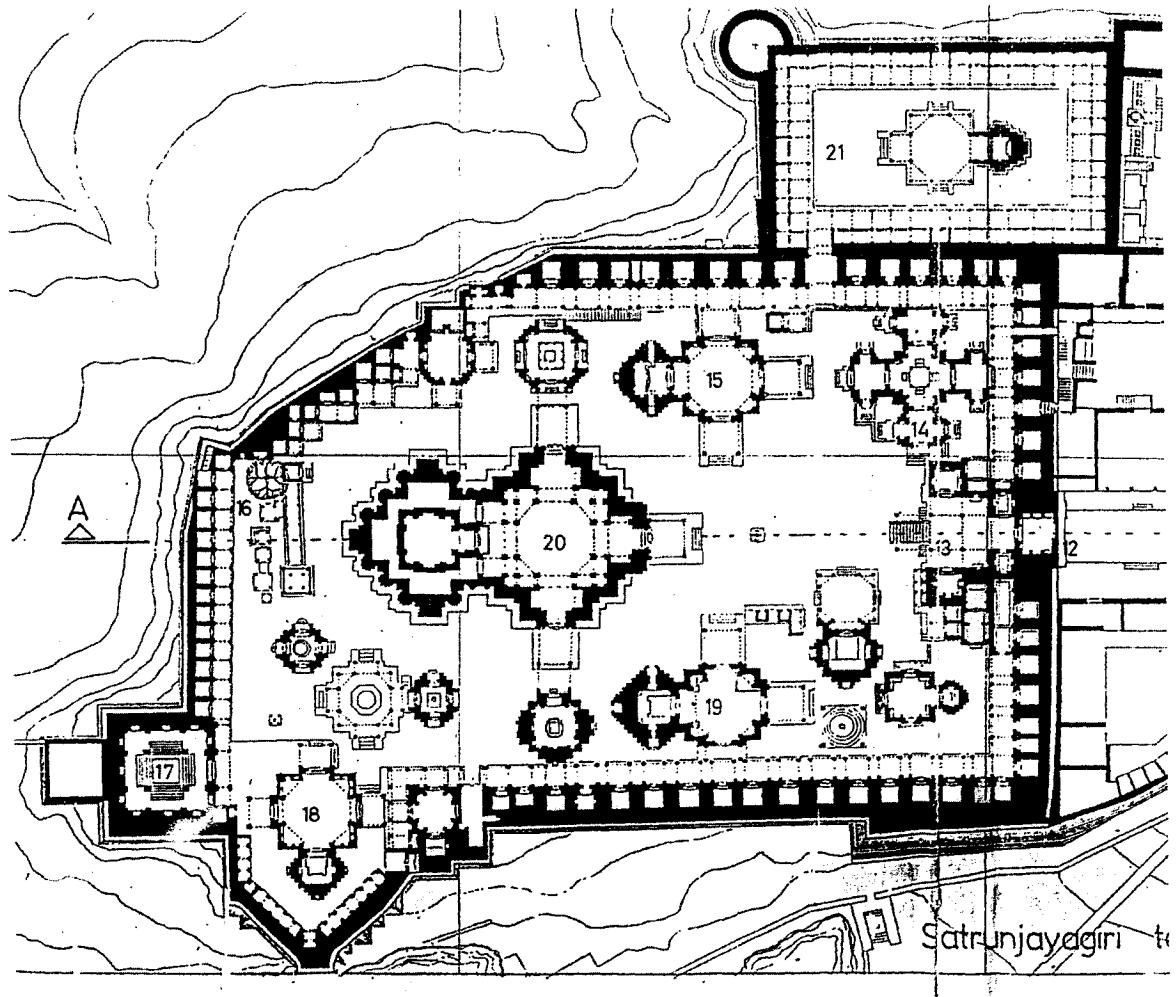
4-9. Plan of Adinath Temple (“Dharana Vihara”), Ranakpur, Gujarat, 1440-1500  
The main sanctum is a four-faced shrine (*caturmukha*).



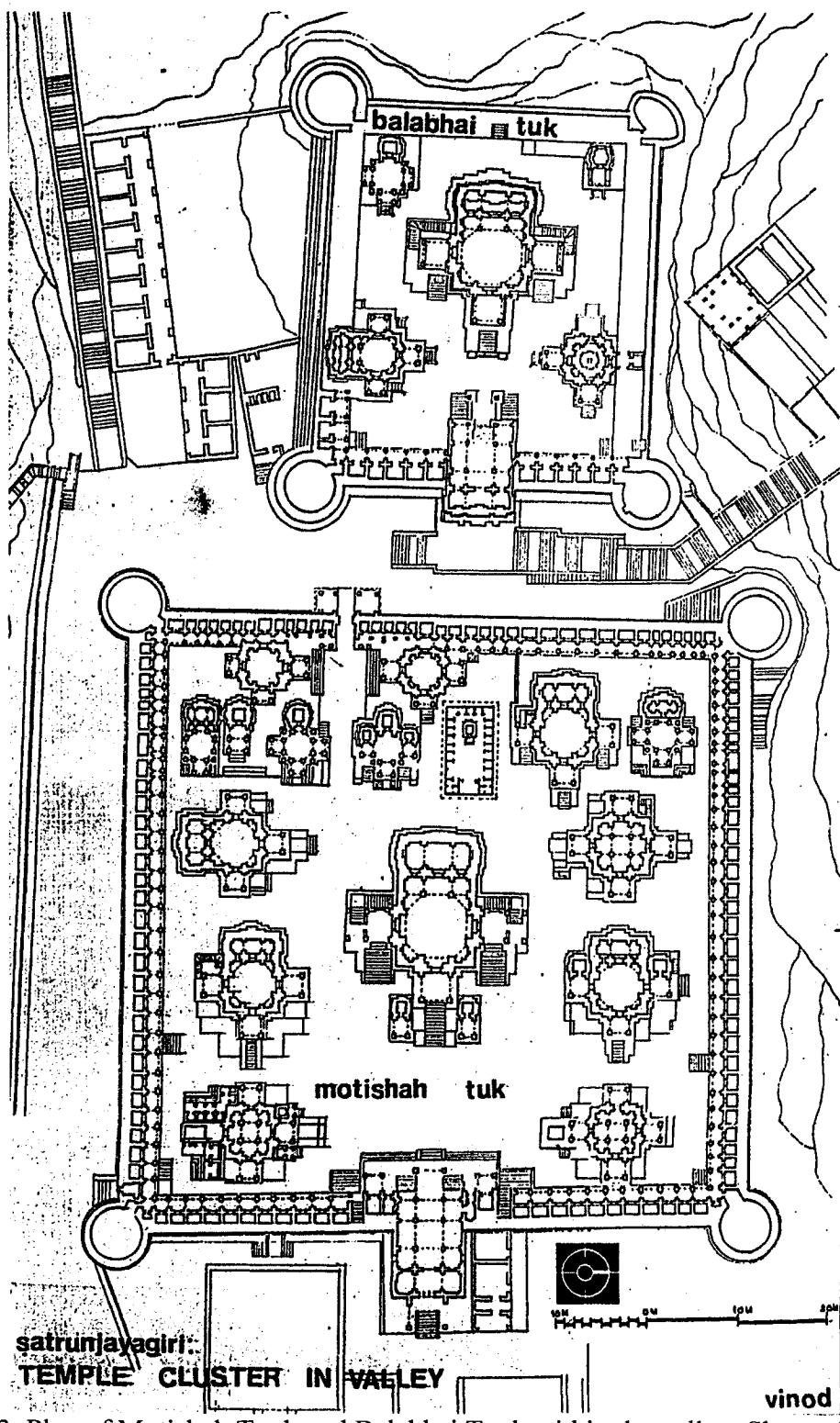
4-10. Adinath Temple ("Dharana Vihara"), Ranakpur, Gujarat, 1440-1500.  
The roof of the open entrance hall (*rangamandapa*) is visible behind the domed main entrance seen on the left of the image.



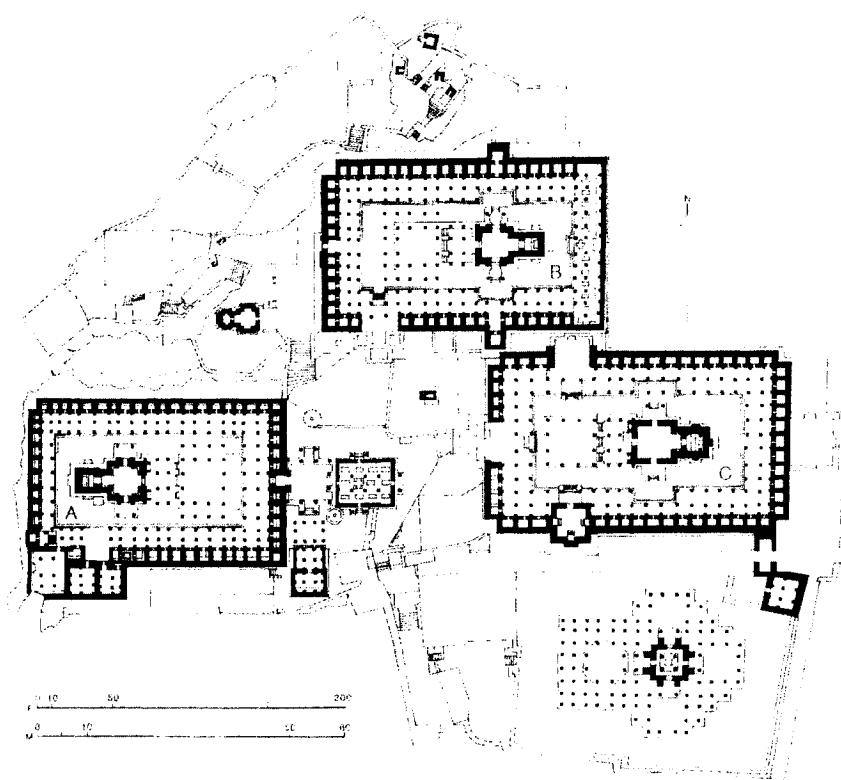
4-11. Kumarpal Temple renovation, southern summit of Shatrunjaya, 2003



4-12. Detailed Plan of Main Adishvara Temple complex, Shatrunjaya  
Number 20 is Main Adishvara Temple.



4-13. Plan of Motishah Tunk and Balabhai Tunk within the valley, Shatrunjaya.



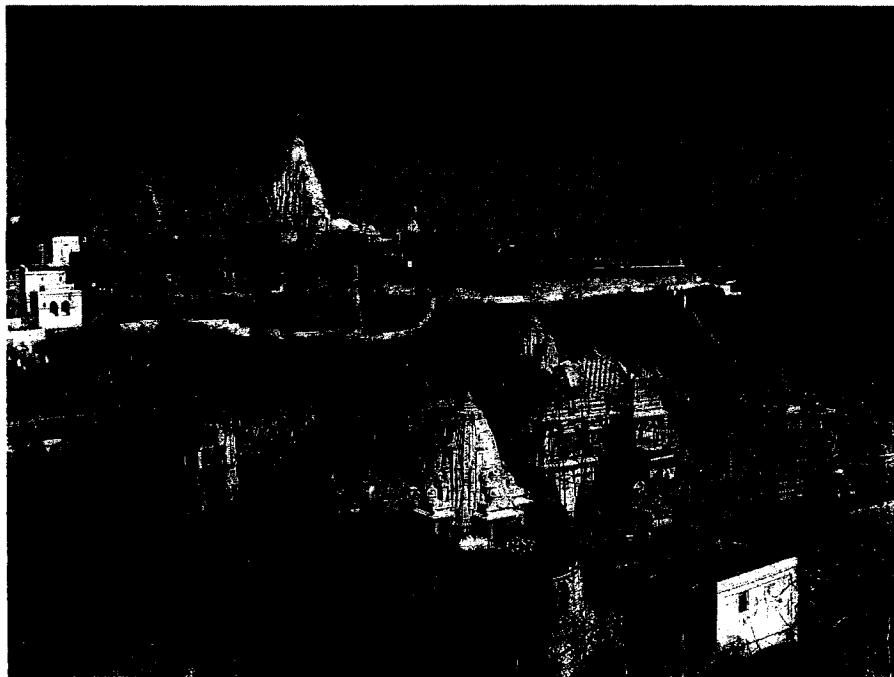
4-14. Plan of Jain temples. 11<sup>th</sup> century and later, Mount Abu, Rajasthan. A is Vimala's Temple.



4-15. Interior of Vimala's Temple, Mount Abu



4-16. Courtyard of Motisah Tunk



4-17. View of *tunk* walls

Motishah Tunk is in the foreground, and the fort walls of Balabhai Tunk is seen on the left side of the image. In the background, the surrounding walls of Ujambai Tunk is seen (with its three balcony windows). The *shikhara* of Caumukh Temple is seen in the background.



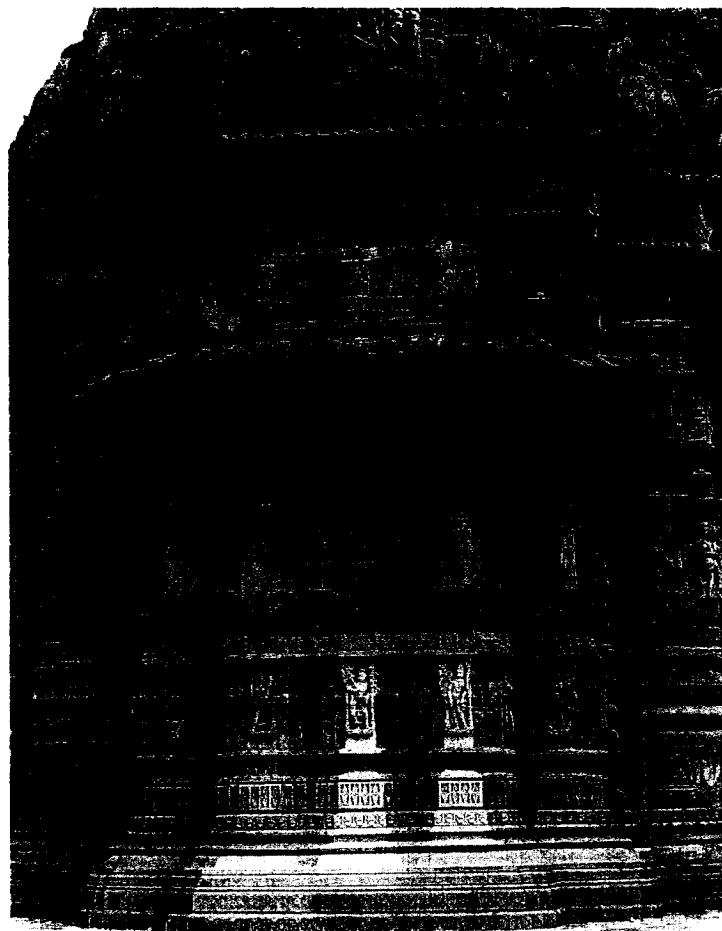
4-18. Balcony on Main temple, Narshi Keshavji Nayak Tunk



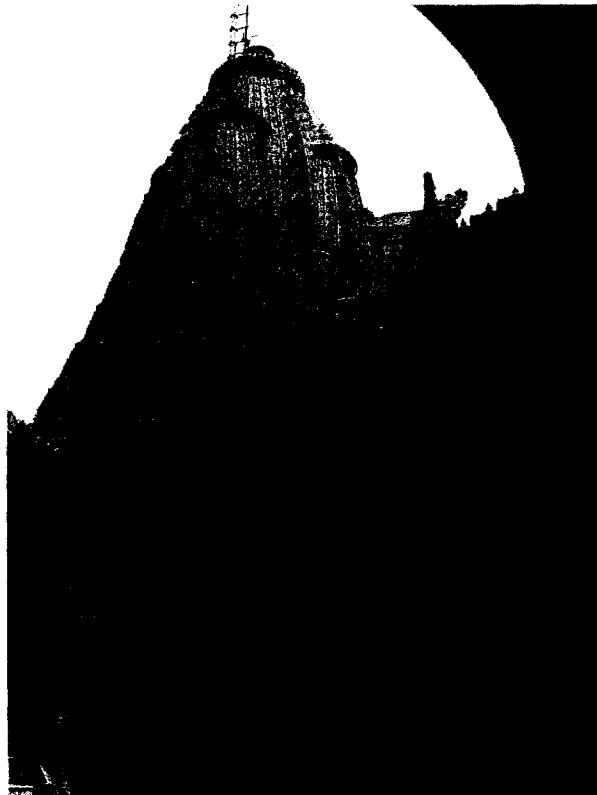
4-19. Balcony on *tunk* wall of Ujambai Tunk



4-20. Akbar's Darshan-i Jharoka, Daftar Khana, Fatehpur Sikri, 1571-1585



4-21. Balcony on second level, Ajitnatha Temple, Taranga



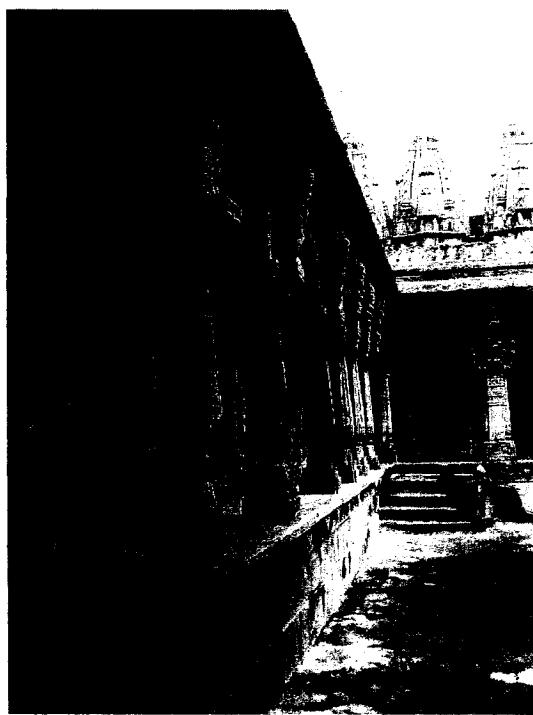
4-22. Balcony on Main Adishvara Temple, Shatrunjaya



4-23. Second level interior leading to balconies, Main temple, Narshi Keshavji Nayak tank, northern summit, Shatrunjaya



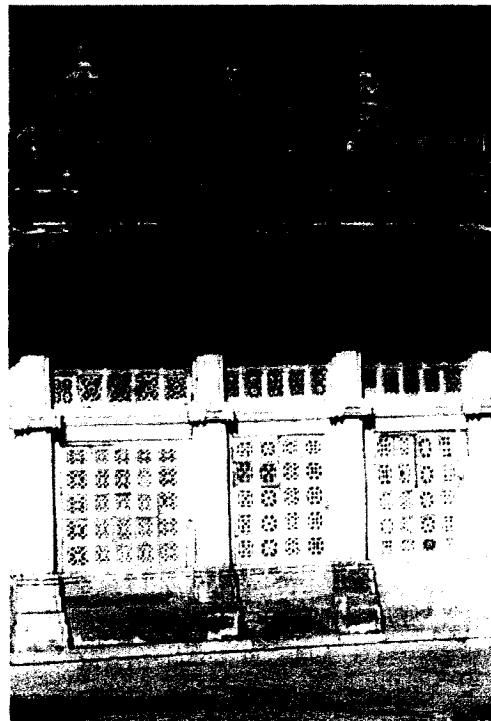
4-24. View from *tunk* balcony, Ujambai Tunk, towards the Main Adishvara Temple on southern summit



4-25. Baluster columns, Sakar Shah Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya



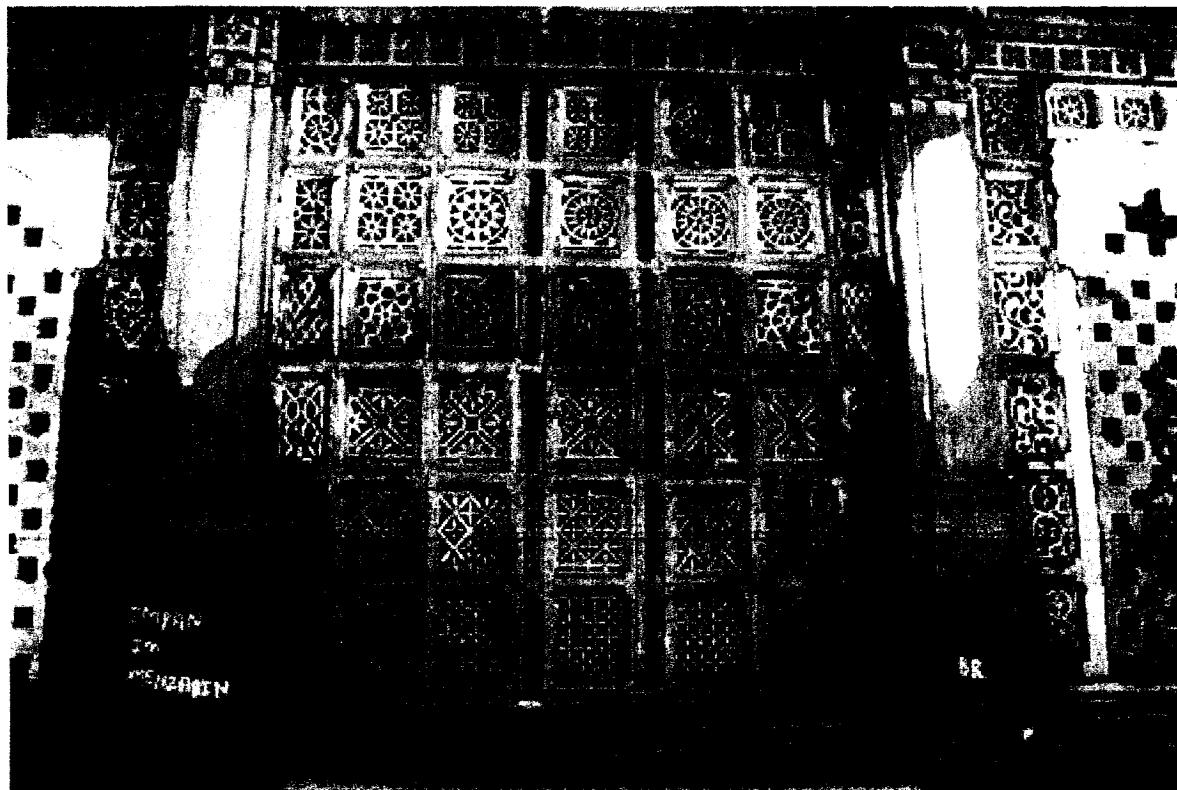
4-26. Baluster columns of the throne, Red Fort, Delhi



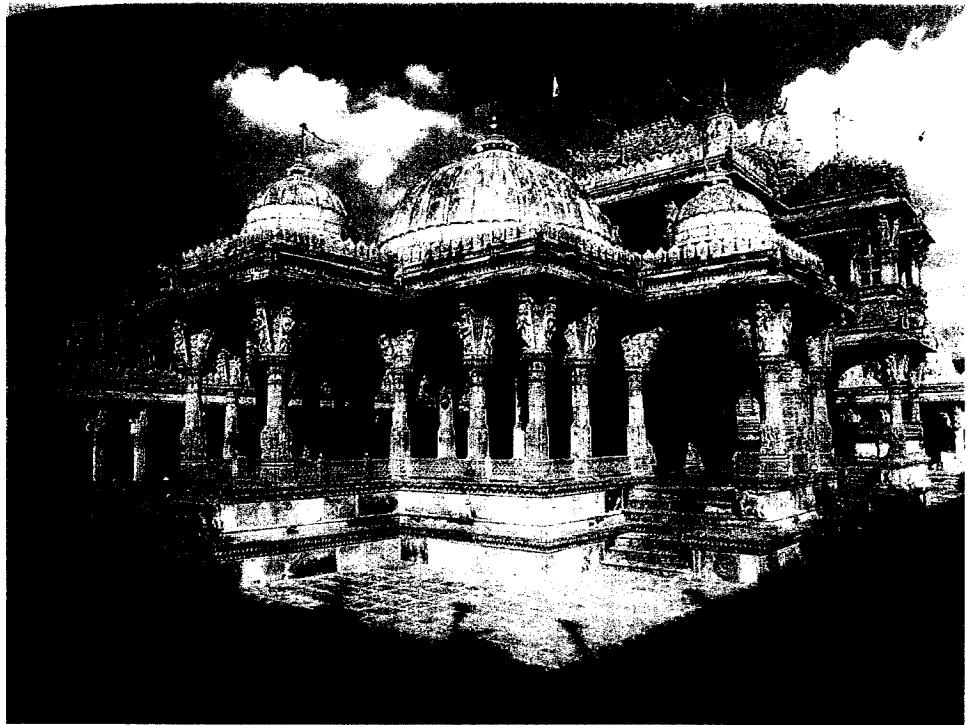
4-27. Screens on temples on Mount Abu



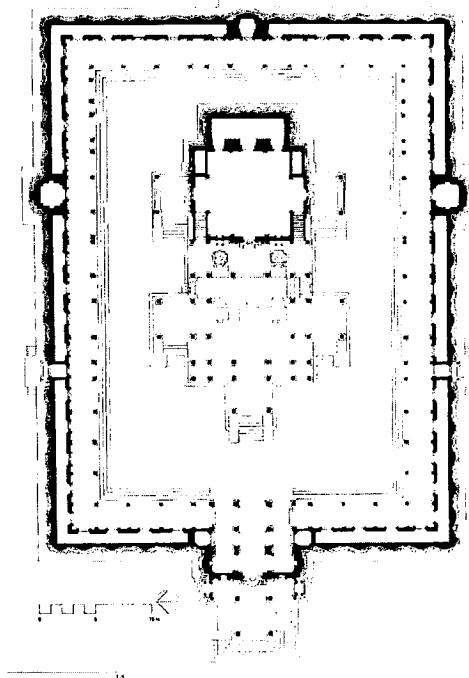
4-28. Screens on Ajitnath Temple, Taranga



4-29. Stone screens, King's Tomb, Sarkhej, Gujarat. C. 1490



4-30. Main temple, Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad, 1848



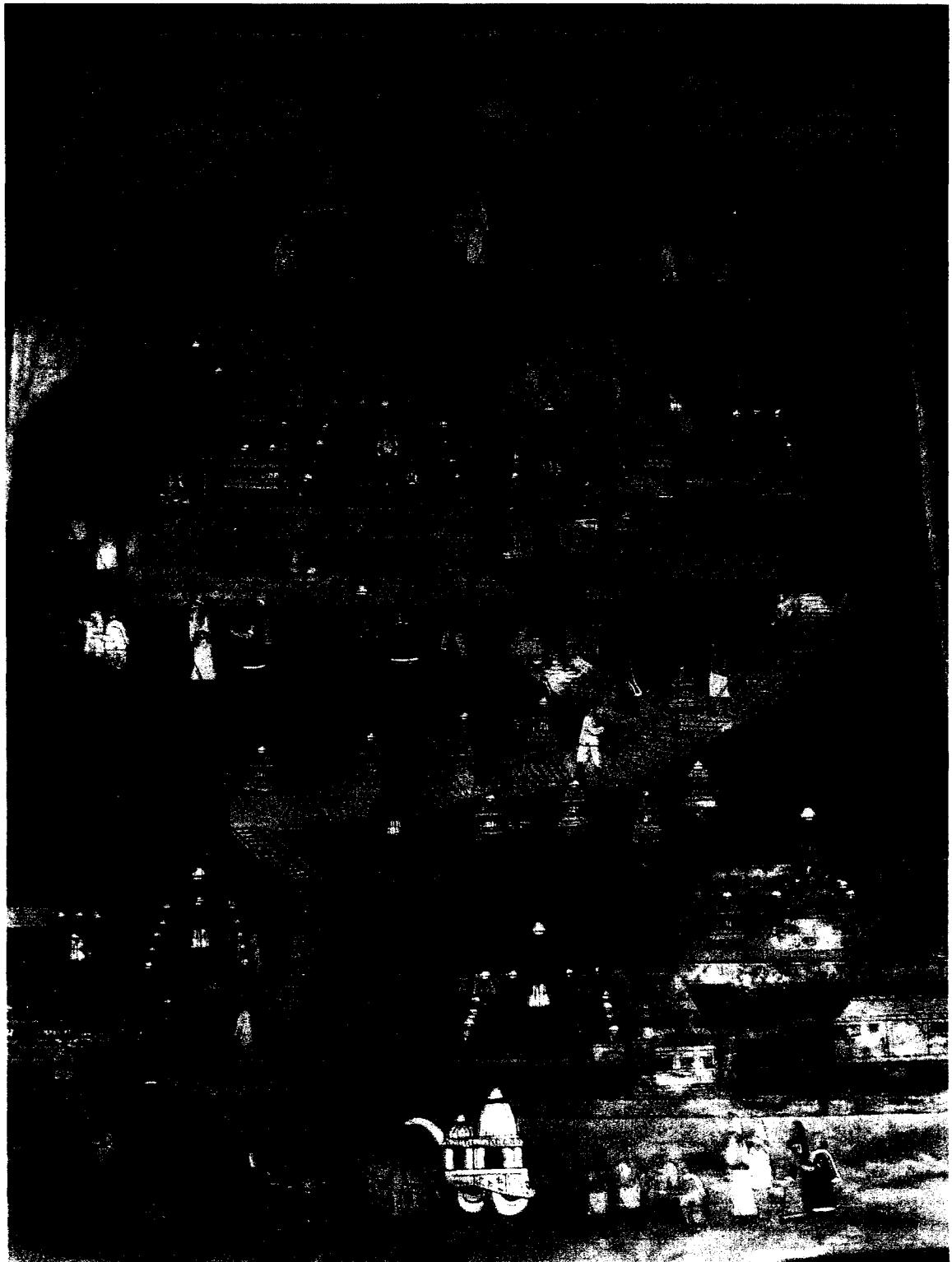
4-31. Plan of Hathee Singh temple, Ahmedabad



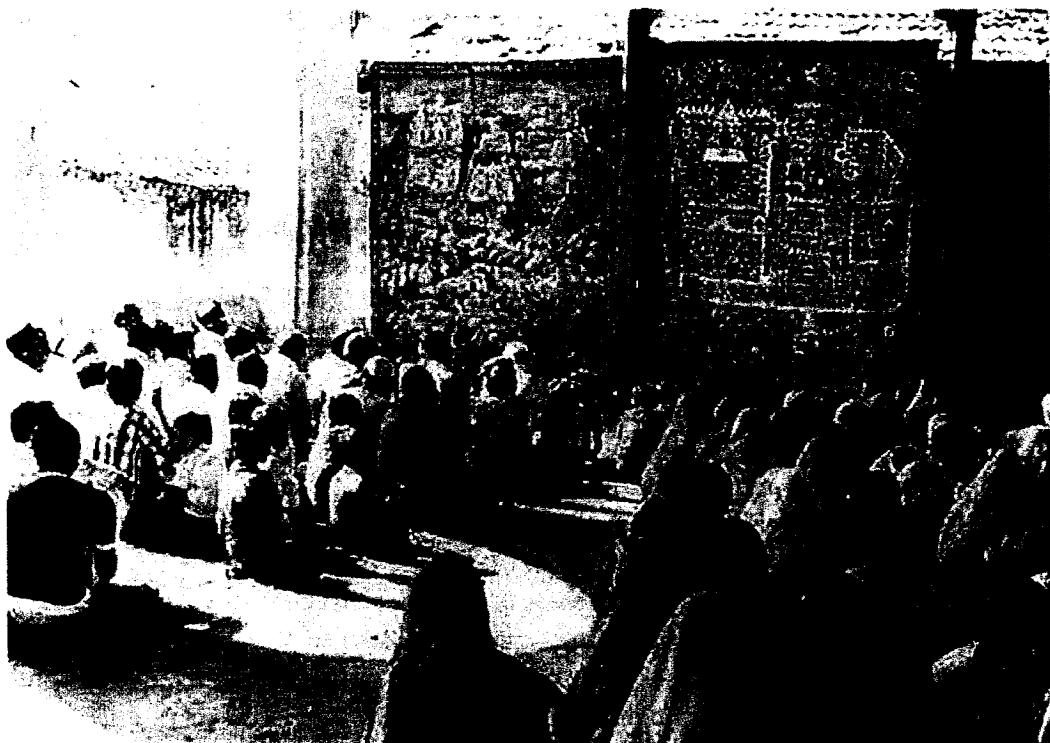
4-32. Balcony on back of Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad



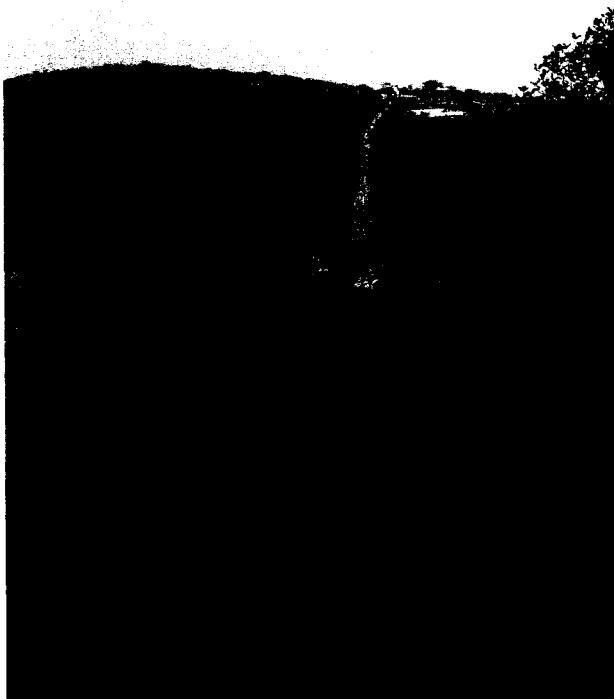
4-33. Marble Floors of the open entrance hall (*rangamandapa*), Hathee Singh Temple, Ahmedabad



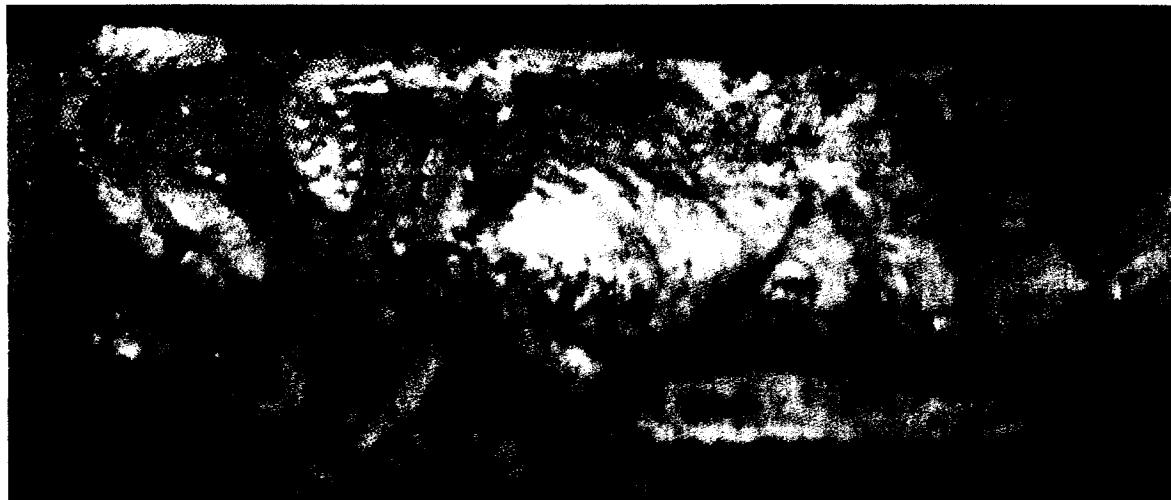
5-1. Contemporary Shatrunjaya *pata* from Haribhai Painters, Palitana



5-2. Worshipping Shatrunjaya *patas* at Sarovar Khan Market, Patan



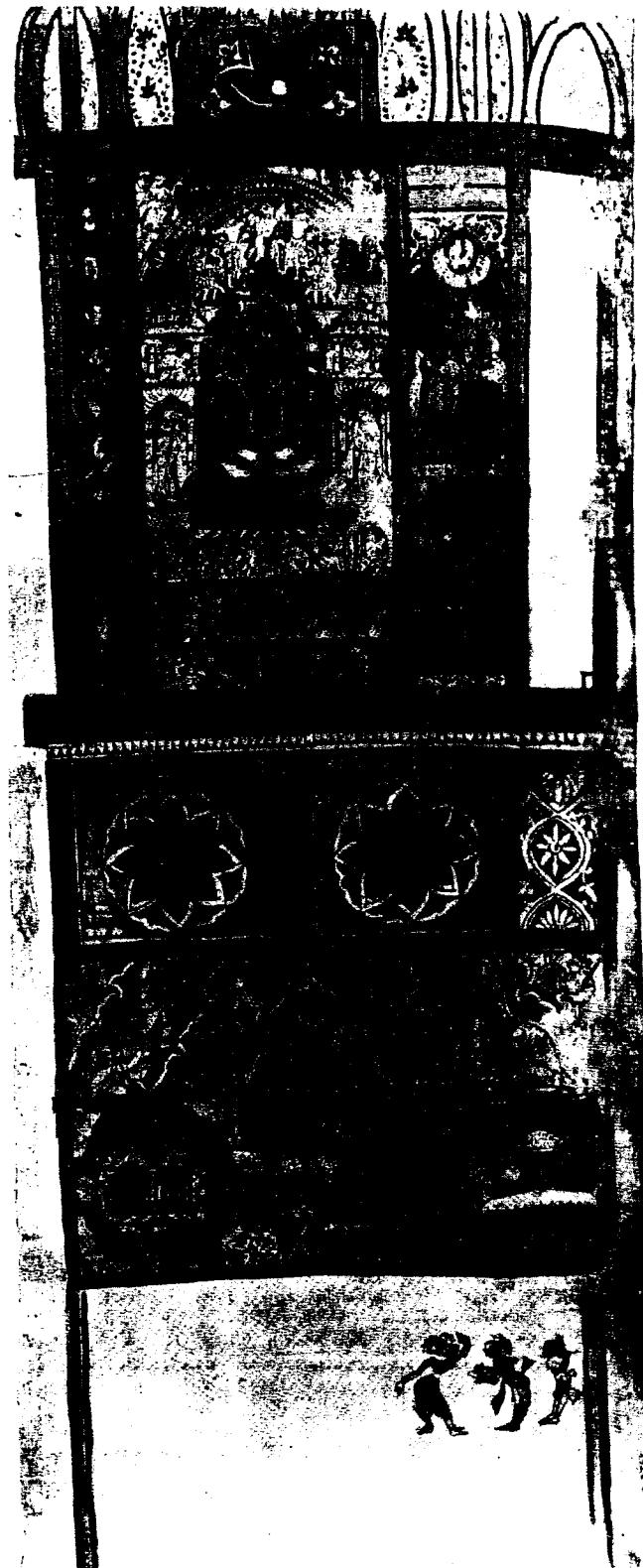
5-3. View of path up Shatrunjaya Hill



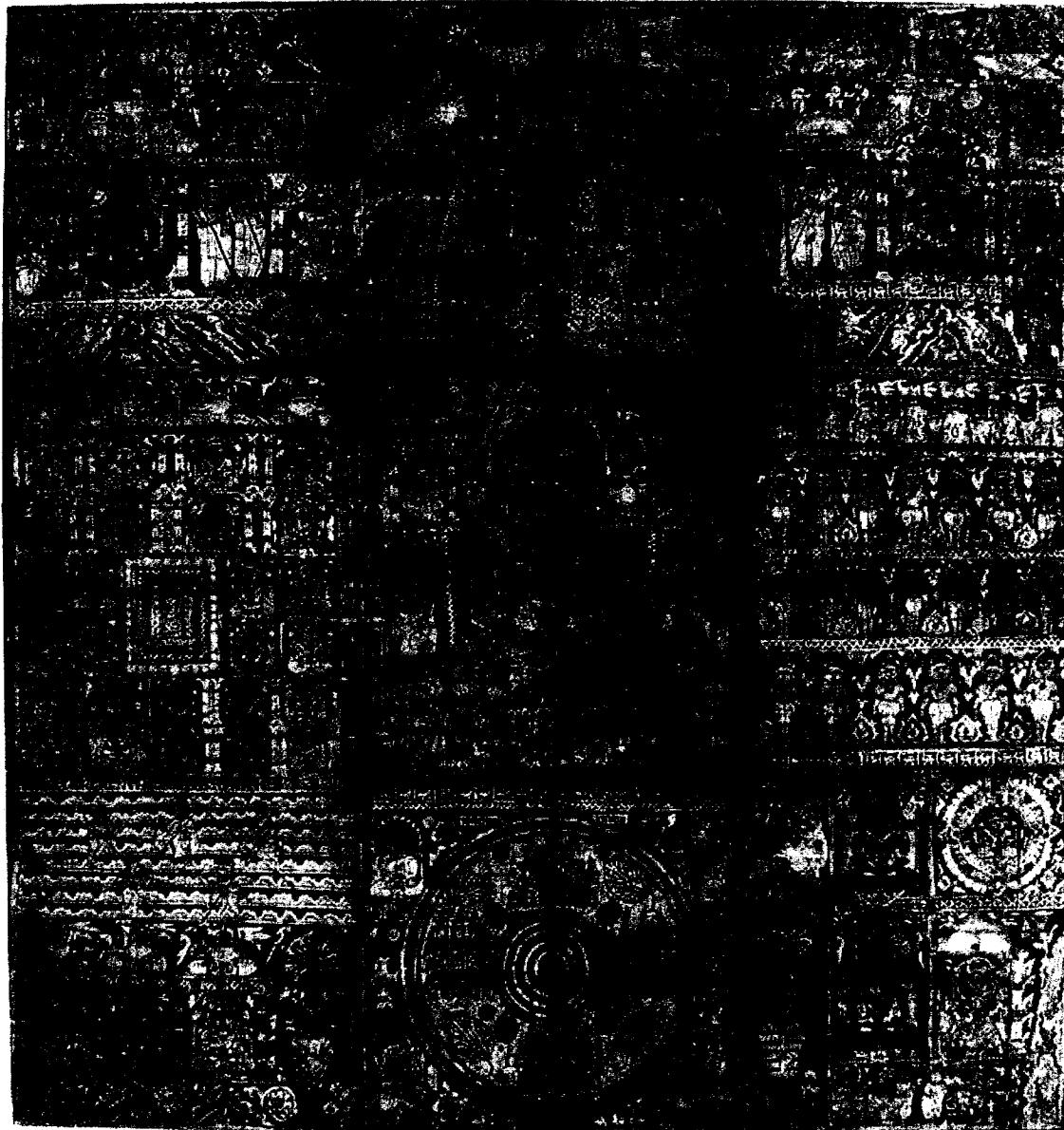
5-4. Relief of snake and peacock, on Rayan Tree shrine behind Main Adishvara Temple, in Main Adishvara Temple complex, southern summit, Shatrunjaya



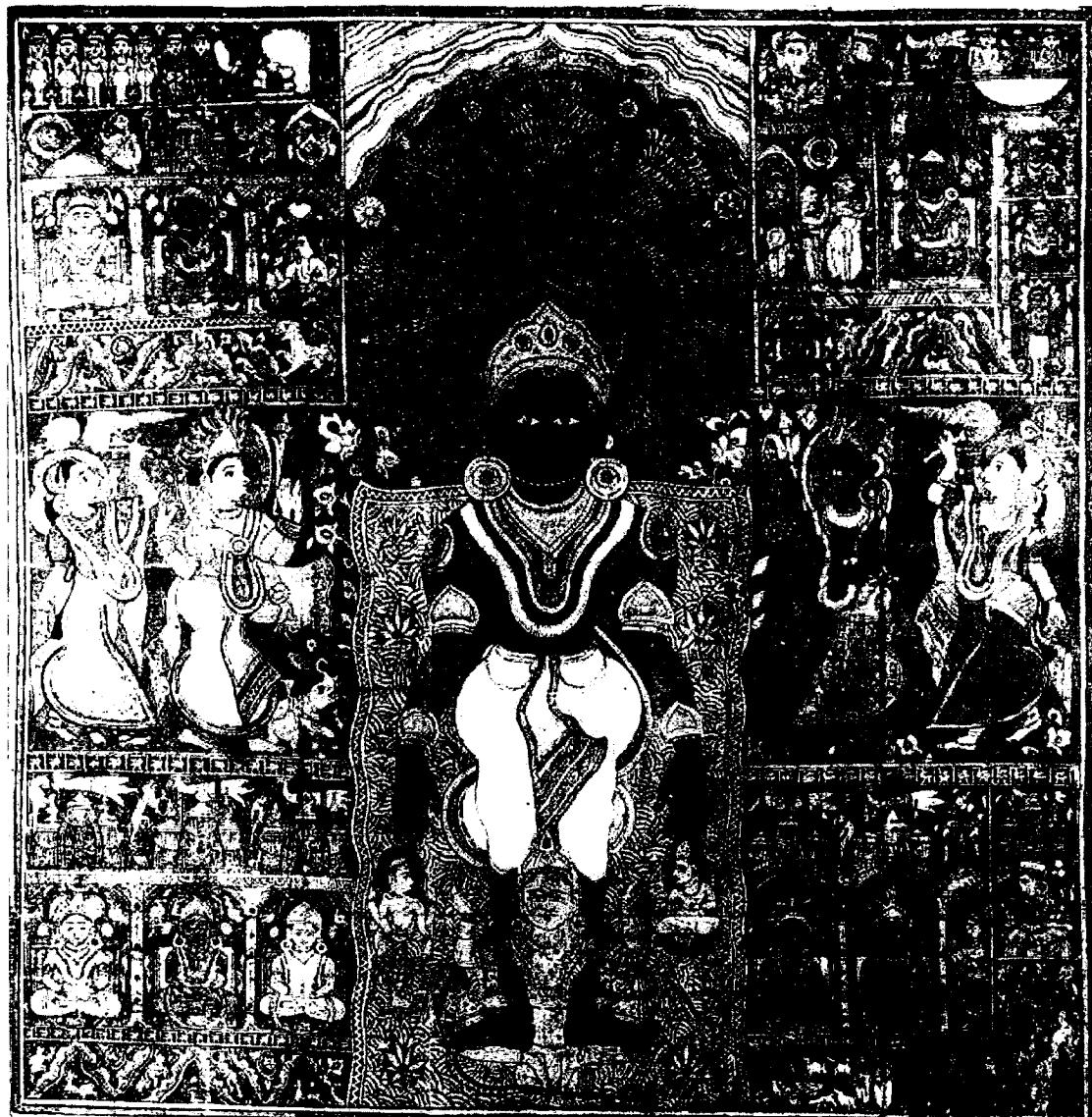
5-5. Image of five Pandava Brothers at Shatrunjaya, Panch Pandava Tunk, northern summit, Shatrunjaya



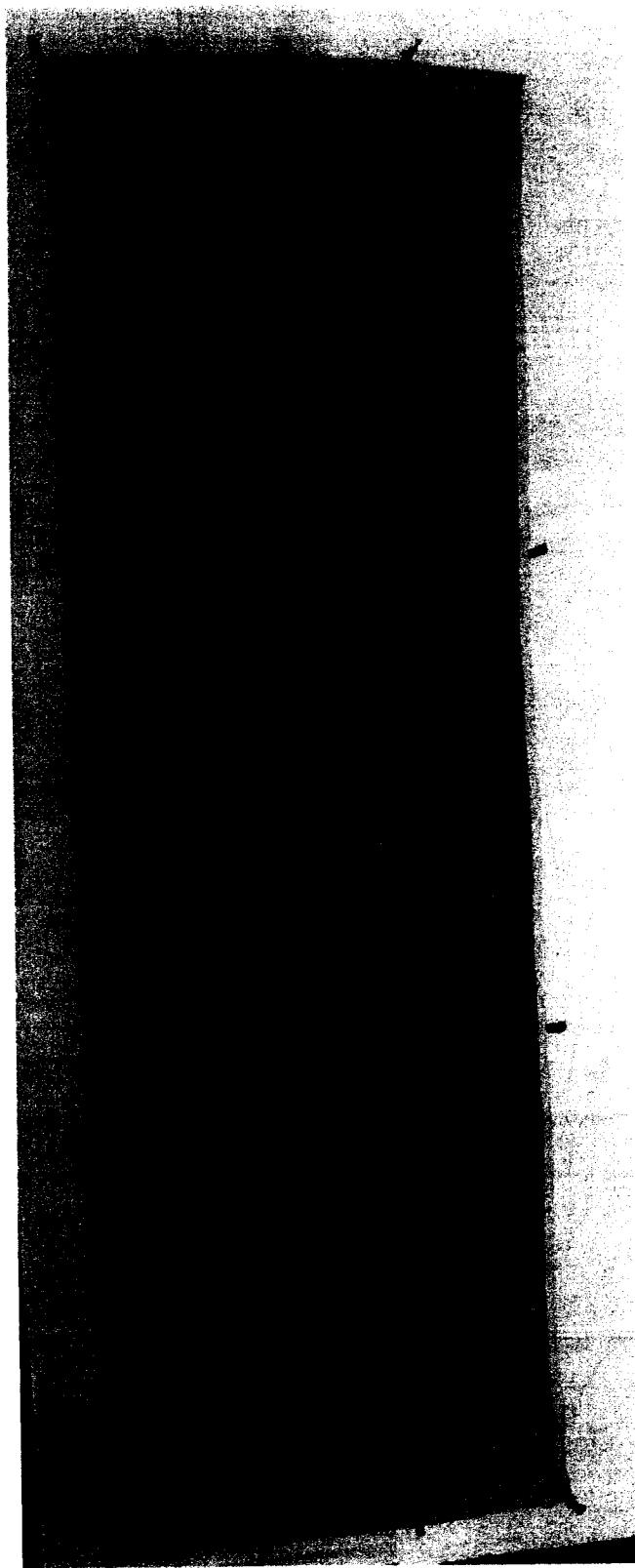
5-6. #1, Appendix D. "Neminath Temple, Girnar," Partial view of *tirtha pata*. 1433,  
Champaner



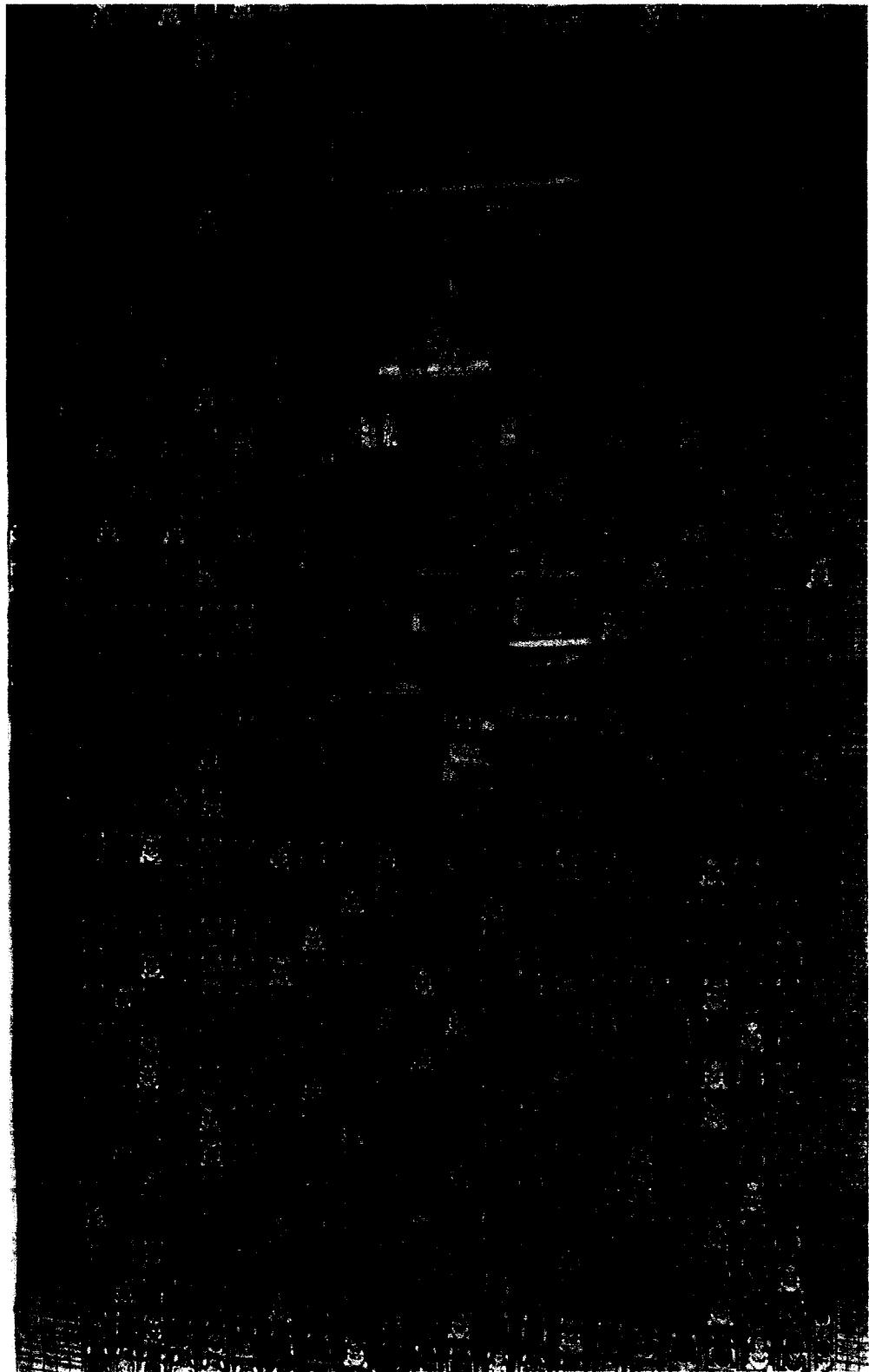
5-7. #4, Appendix D. *Tirtha Pata*. 15<sup>th</sup> century, western India.



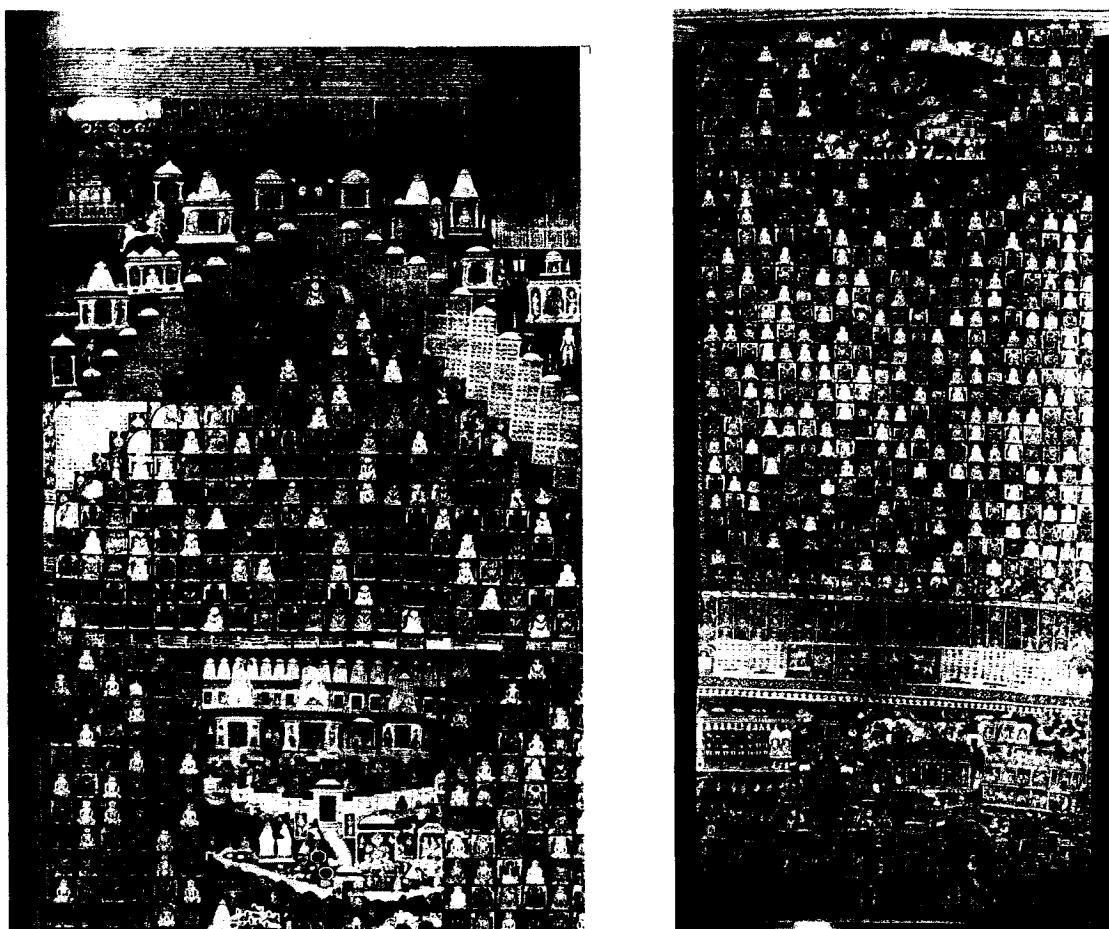
5-8. #3, Appendix D. *Tirtha pata* with Parshvanath. 15<sup>th</sup> century, western India.



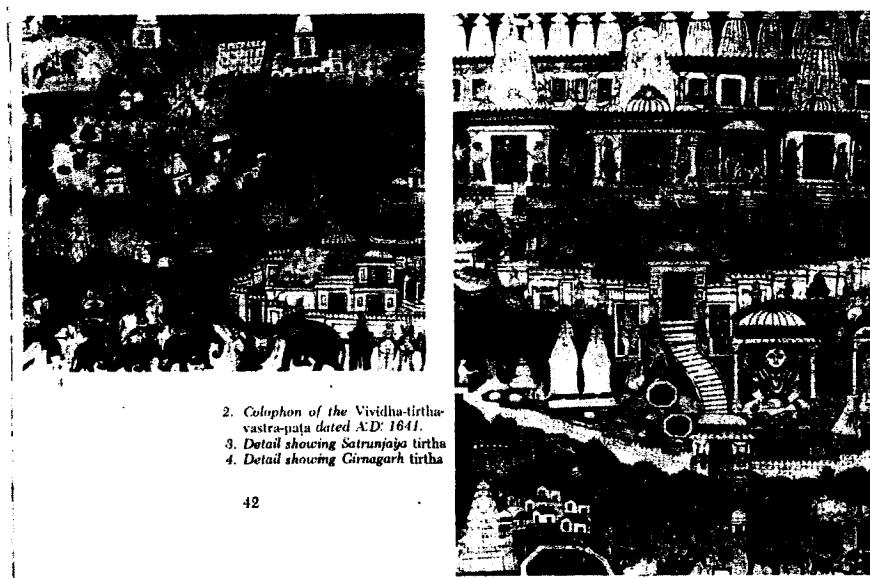
5-9. #6, Appendix D. *Tirtha Pata*. 1641CE, Gujarat.



5-10. Detail of #6, Appendix D.

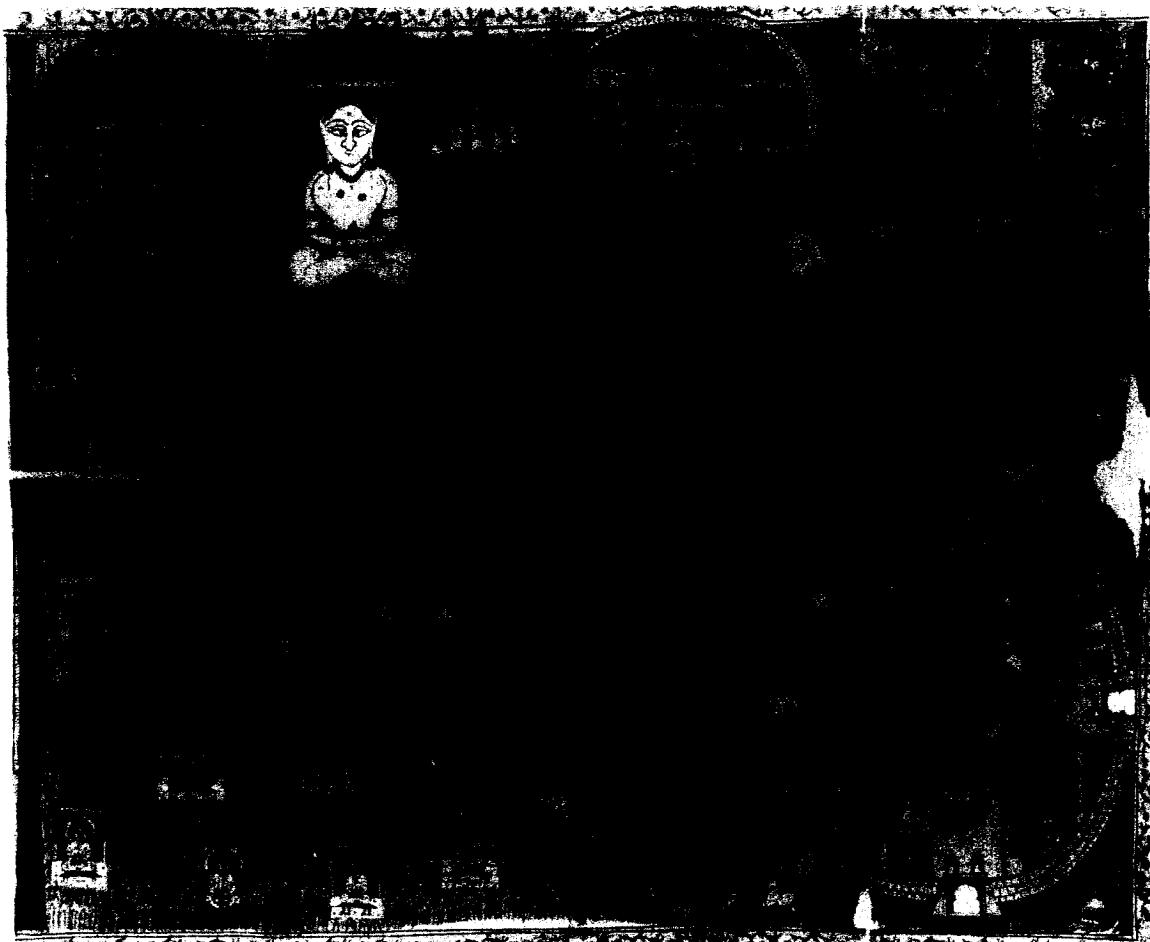


5-11 And 12. #7, Appendix D. *Vividha Tirtha Pata*, 1641CE, Gujarat.  
Top (L) and bottom (R)

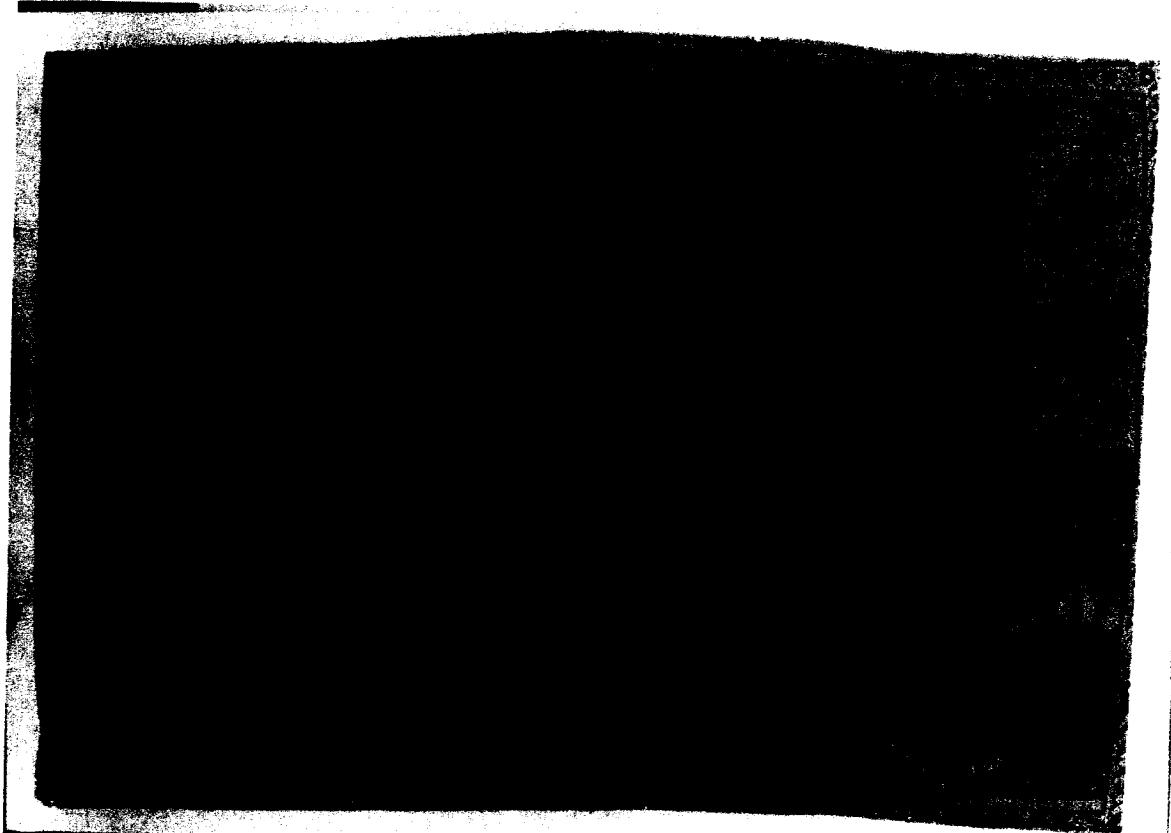


2. Colophon of the *Vividha-tirtha-vastu-pata* dated AD: 1641.  
3. Detail showing Satrunjaya tirtha  
4. Detail showing Girnagar tirtha

5-13. Details of #7, Appendix D.



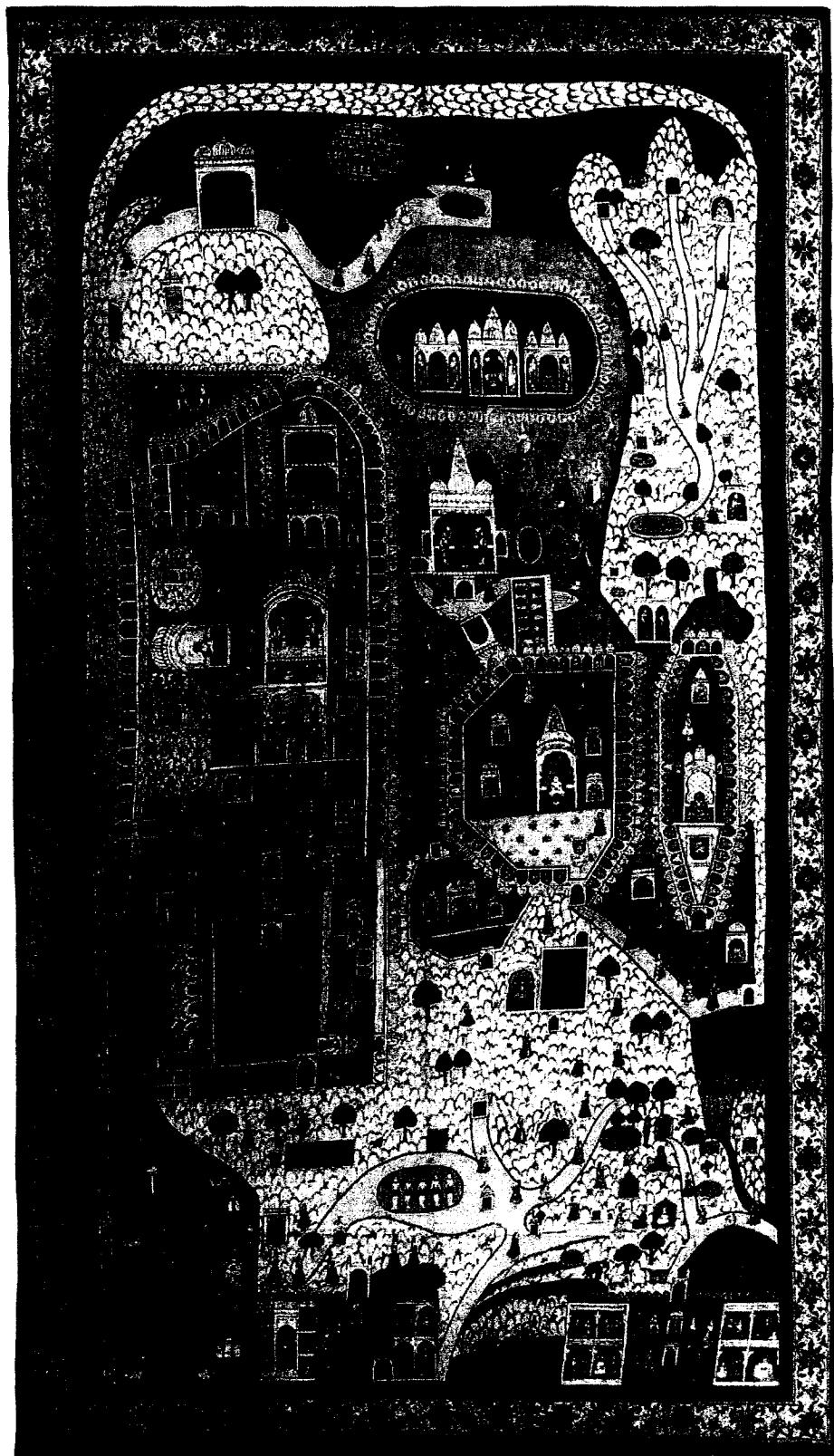
5-14. #9, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. c.18<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat.



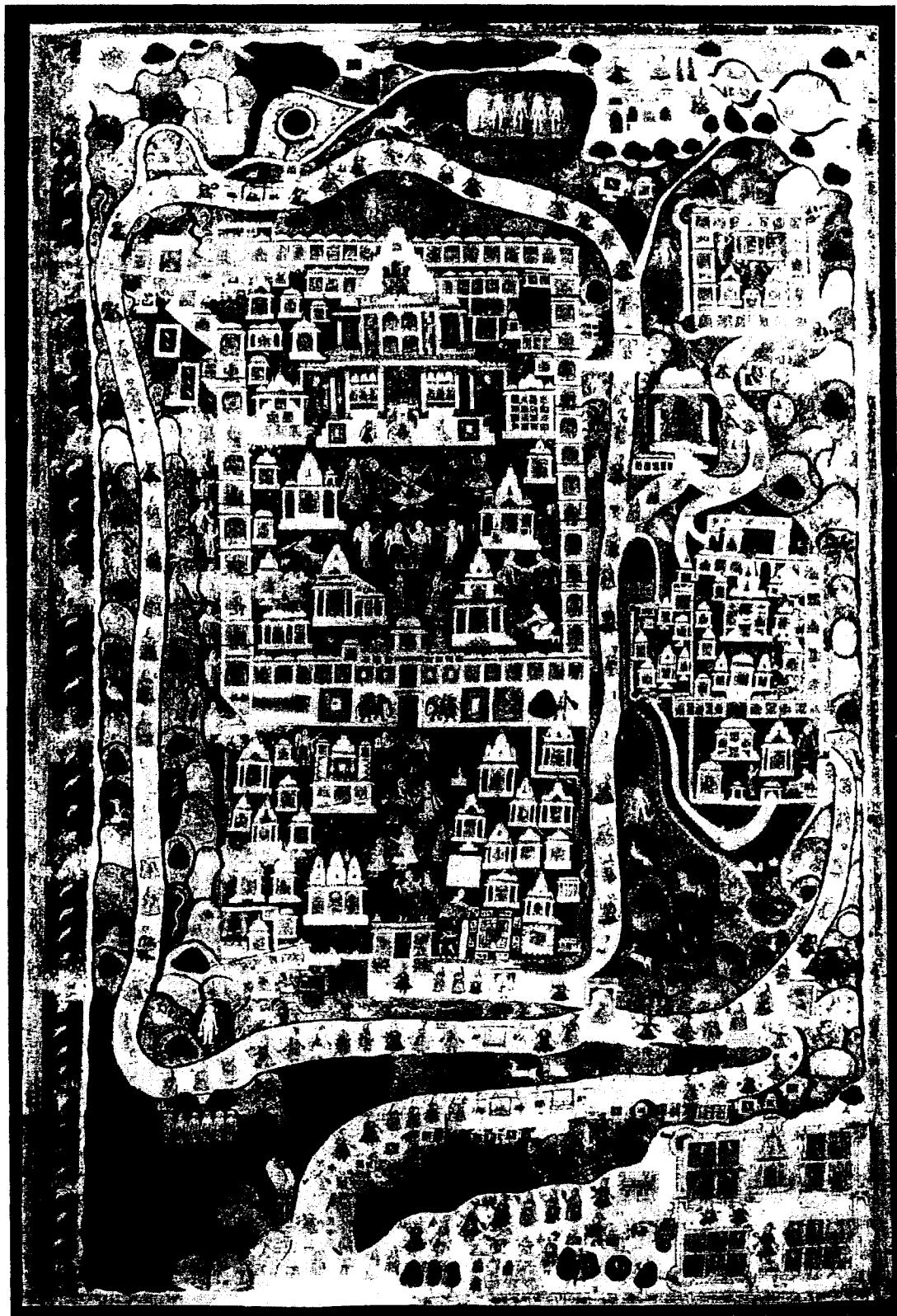
5-15. #10, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. 1792CE, Gujarat.



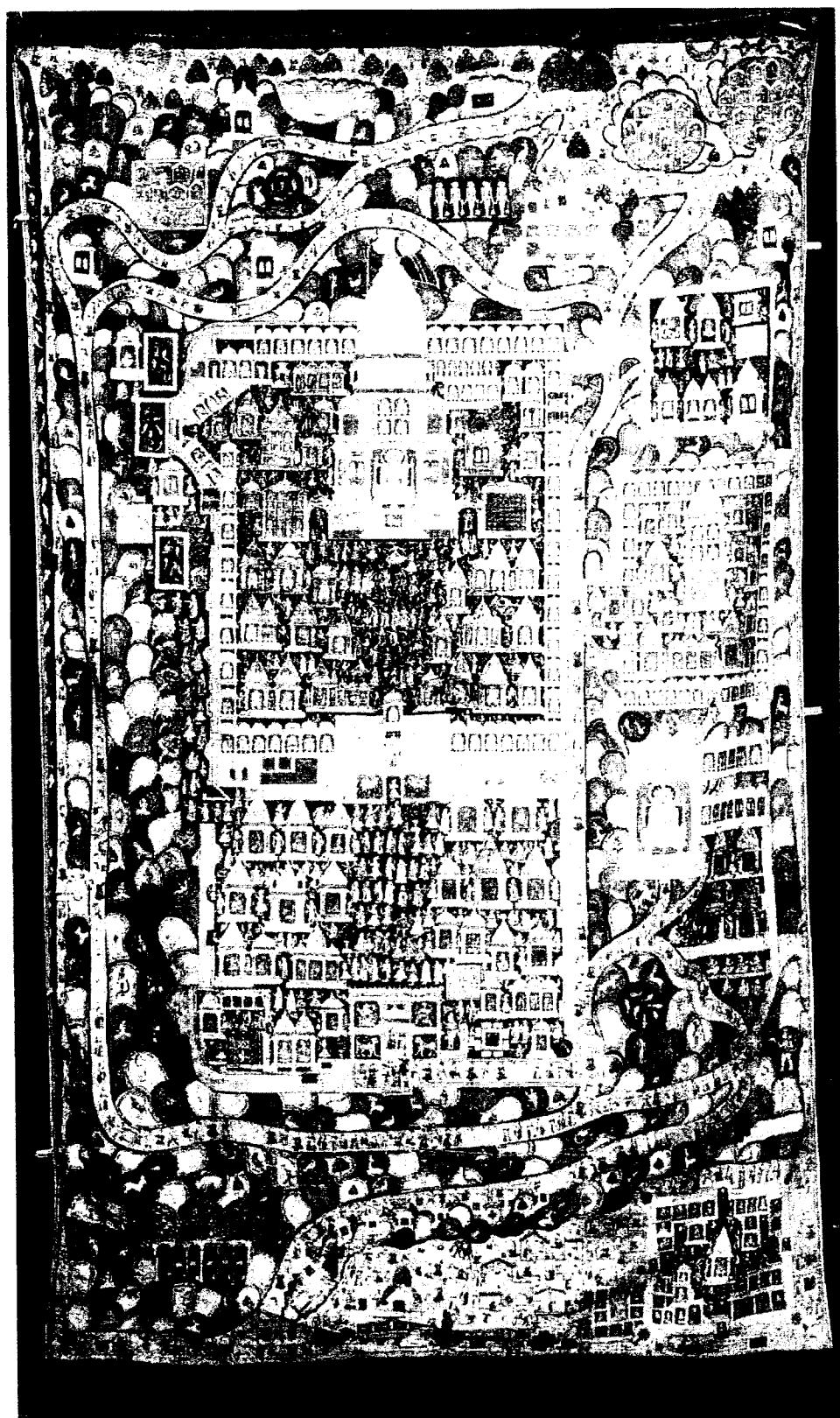
5-16. #12, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. c.18<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat.



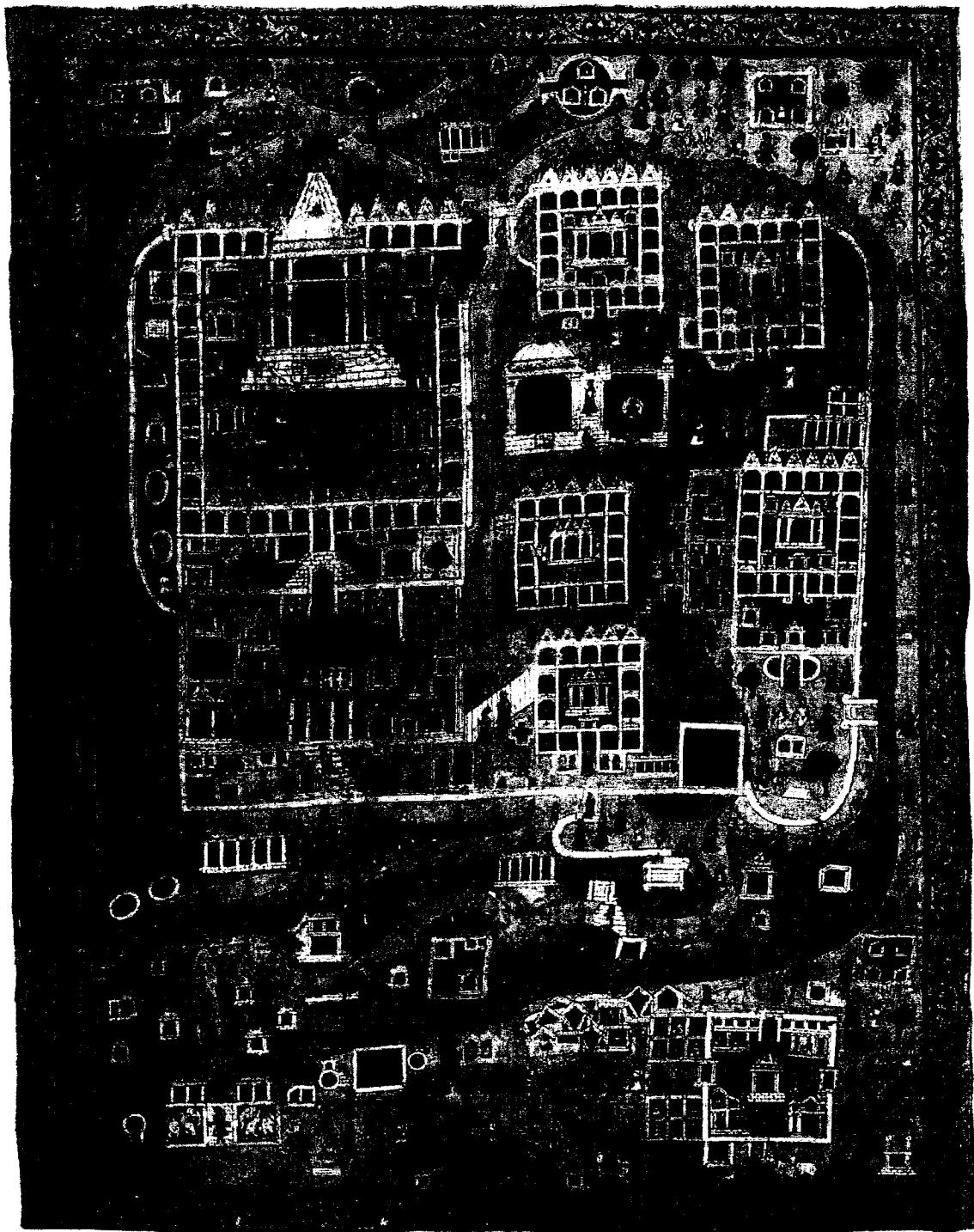
5-17. #13, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. c. early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jaipur (?)



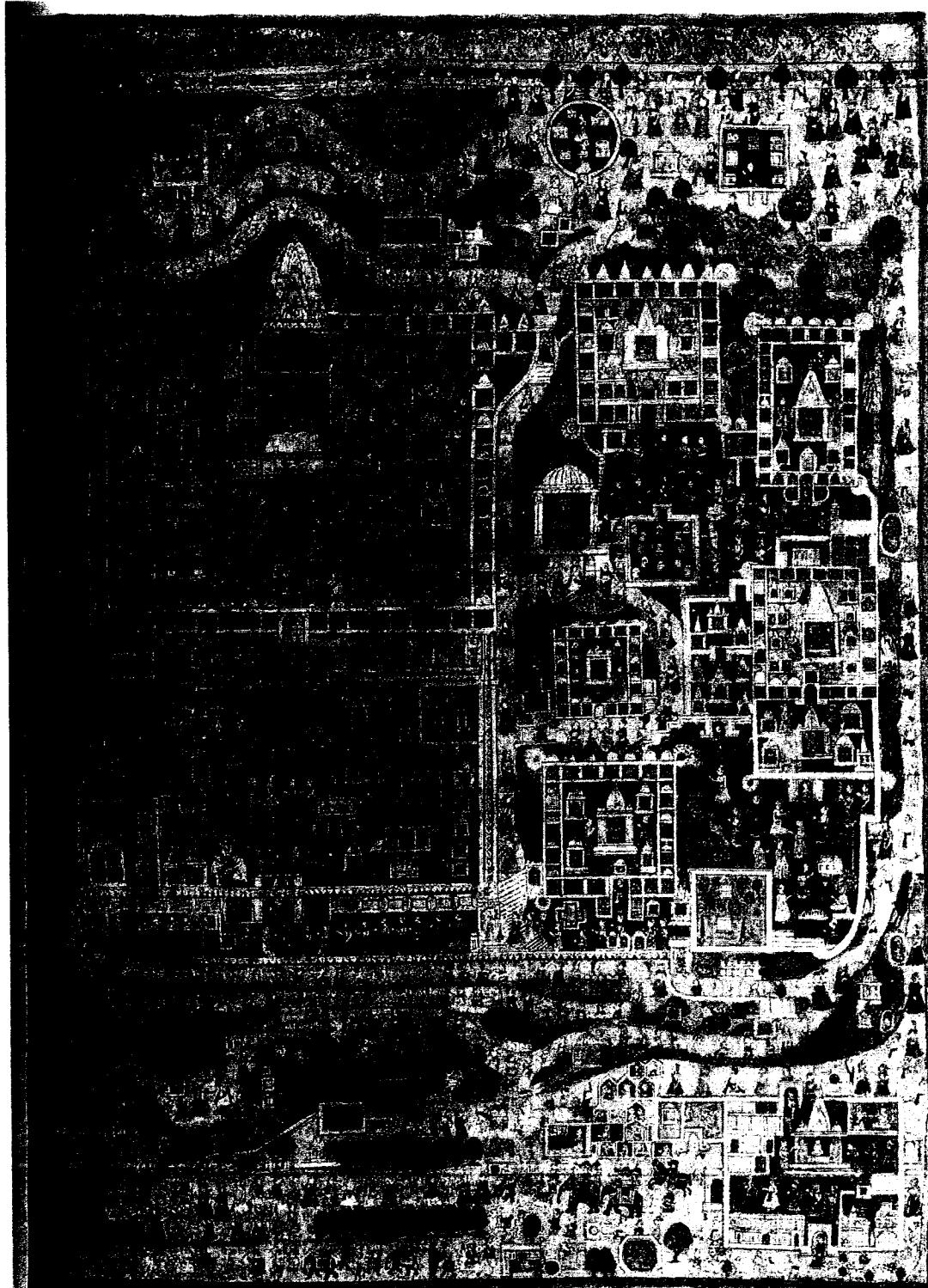
5-18. #14, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat.



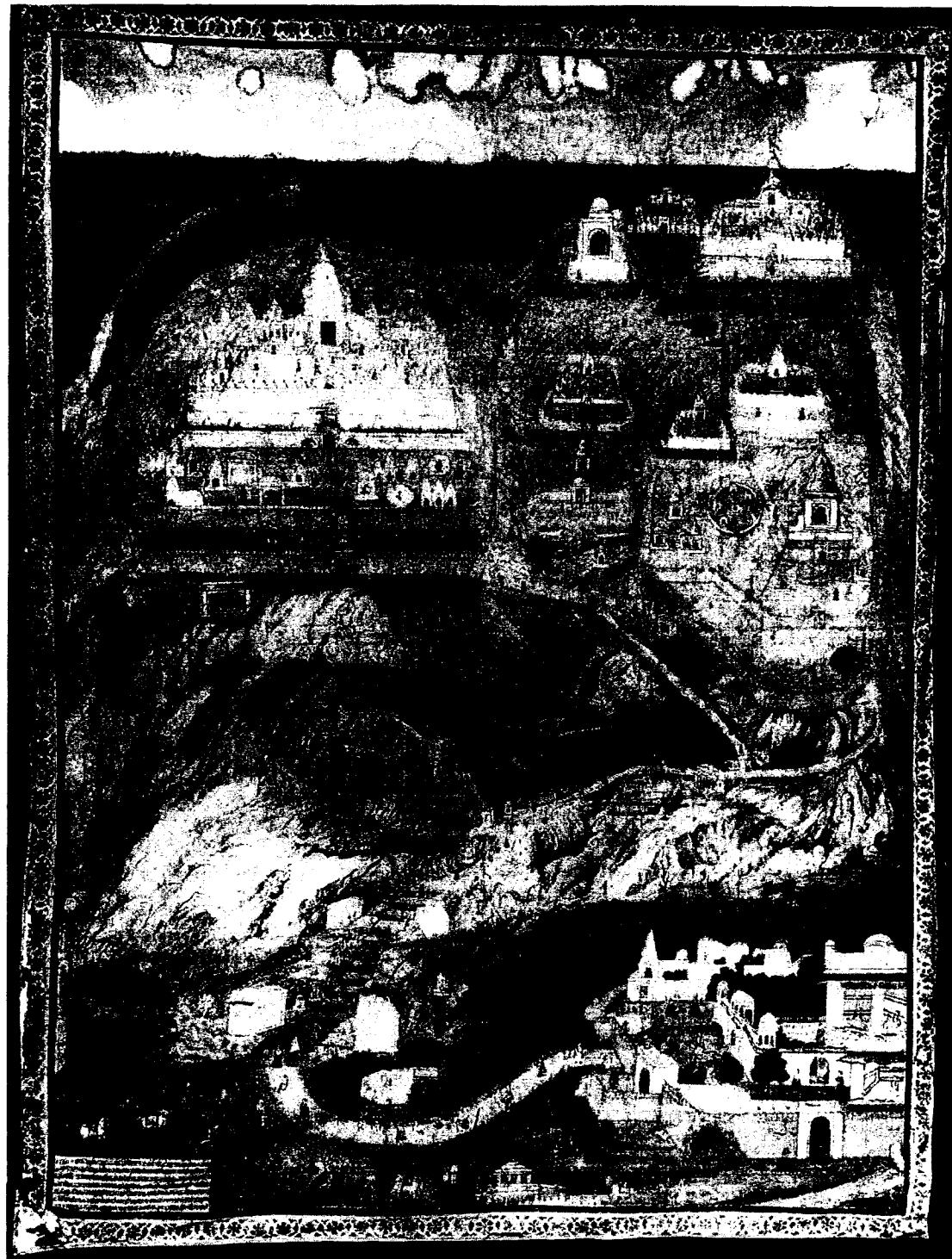
5-19. #16, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat.



5-20. #19, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. After 1837, Gujarat.



5-21. #20, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gujarat.



5-22. #21, Appendix D. Shatrunjaya *Pata*. Before 1885, Gujarat.



6-1. "Substitute" Shatrunjaya, c. 1924, Kadamgiri, Gujarat.

The Main Adishvara Temple, i.e. the tallest temple on the left, is probably around 2 meters in height. The site is complete with its surrounding fortification walls and towers, as well as the shrines along up the path towards the top of the hill.

## Selected Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Abul Fazl Allami. *The Ain-i Akbari by Abu'l-Fazl Allami*. Translated by H. Blochmann and H.S. Jarrett. III vols. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1907.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl*, translated by H. Beveridge, 3 vols. Reprint. Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1977.

*Accounts of the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi*. In Gujarati. Ahmedabad: n.a., 1842.

Allen, Charles, and Sharada Dwivedi. *Lives of the Indian Princes*. London: Century Pub. in association with the Taj Hotel Group, 1984.

Alpers, Svetlana. "The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art." In *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

AlSayyad, Nezar. *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot; Brookfield: Avebury, 1992.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed. London; New York: Verso, 1991.

Andhare, Shridar. "A Dated Salibhadra Chaupai and the Mathen Painters of Bikaner." In *Sri Nagabhinandanam: Dr. M.S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift : Essays on Art, Culture, History, Archaeology, Epigraphy and Conservation of Cultural Property of India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by L. K. Srinivasan, S. Nagaraju and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, 481-88. Bangalore: M.S. Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Committee, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jain Monumental Painting." In *Steps to Liberation: 2,500 Years of Jain Art and Religion*, edited by Jan Van Alphen, 70-75. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jain Monumental Painting." In *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, ed. Pratapadita Pal, 77-88. New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Mewar Painters, Their Status and Genealogies." In *Facets of Indian Art*, edited by Robert Skelton, 176-84. London: The Museum, 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Painted Banners on Cloth: Vividha-Tirtha-Pata of Ahmedabad." *Marg* 31, no. 4 (1979): 40-44.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Chronology of Mewar Painting*. New Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1987.

Asher, Catherine B. "Hidden Gold: Jain Temples of Delhi and Jaipur and Their Urban Context." In *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, edited by Olle Qvarnström and Padmanabh S. Jaini, 359-78. Fremont, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Architecture of Murshidabad: Regional Revival and Islamic Continuity." In *Islam and Indian Regions*, edited by Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallement, 61-74. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Mapping Hindu-Muslim Identities through the Architecture of Shahjahanabad and Jaipur." In *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, edited by David Gilmartin and Bruce B.

Lawrence, 121-48. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. "North India's Urban Landscape: The Place of the Jain Temple." *Islamic Culture* LXXIII, no. 3 (1999): 109-50.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Later Mughals and Mughal Successor States: Architecture in Oudh, Murshidabad and Rampur." In *Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India*, edited by C.W. London, 85-98. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994.

Badaoni, Al. *Muntakhab-Ut-Tawarikh*. Translated by W.H. Lowe. III vols. Reprint. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

Batley, Claude. "Report on the Present State of and Schedule of the Principal Works Required to Be Executed at the Ranakpur Jain Temples, Jodhpur State." Ahmedabad, n.d.

Bayly, C. A. *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars : North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*. 1st ed. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Beach, Milo C. *Mughal and Rajput Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Bhardwaj, Surinder Mohan. *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Black, Jeremy. *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Brooklyn Museum and Amy G. Poster. *Realms of Heroism : Indian Paintings at the Brooklyn Museum*. 1st ed. New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Brooklyn Museum; National Book Network [distributor], 1994.

Brown, W. Norman. "A Painting of a Jain Pilgrimage." In *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. K. Bharatha Iyer, 69-72. London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1947.

Burgess, J. *Notes of a Visit to Satrunjaya Hill, near Palitana*. Varanasi: The Times of India, 1868.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Papers on Satrunjaya and the Jainas." *The Indian Antiquary* 13 (1884): 191-196; 276-282.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Satrunjaya and Its Temples." *Jain Journal* 11, no. 4 (1977): n.p., 1-109.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Temples of Satrunjaya, the Celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage, near Palitana in Kathiawad, with Historical and Descriptive Introduction*. Bombay: Sykes and Dwyer, 1869. Reprint, Gandhinagar; Delhi: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagwan Mahavira Nirvan; exclusive distributors Motilal BanarsiDass, 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Henry Cousens. *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency: And the Native States of Baroda, Palanpur, Radhanpur, Kathiawad, Kachh, Kolhapur, and the Southern Maratha Minor States*. Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1897.

Caillat, Collette, and Ravi Kumar. *The Jain Cosmology*. New Delhi; Paris: Ravi Kumar, Publishers Basel, 1981.

Campbell, James, ed. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Volume 1 Part 1: History of Gujarat*. Second ed. Gurgaon, Haryana: Vipin Jain for Vintage Books, 1989.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?" *Representations* 37 (1992): 1-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography." *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1 (2000): 9-32.

Chandra, Moti, and Umakant Premanand Shah. *New Documents of Jaina Painting*. 1st ed. Bombay: Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, 1975.

Chandra, Moti. *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*. Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, 1949.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments : Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Chattpadhyay, Swati. "A Critical History of Architecture in a Post-Colonial World: A View from Indian History." *Architronic: The Electronic Journal of Architecture* 6, no. 1 (1997): n.p.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism an the Colonial Uncanny*. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.

Chisholm, R.F. "Baroda Palace: The Town Residence of H.H. Sir Sayji Rao." *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 3rd Series vol. 3 (1896): 421-33; 45-49.

Clark, T.J. "The Conditions of Artistic Creation." In *Art History and Its Methods*, edited by Eric Femie, 248-53. London: Phaidon Press, 1995.

Codell, Julie F. "Resistance and Performance: Native Informant Discourse in the Biographies of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Iii (1863-1939)." In *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, edited by Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod, 13-45. Hants; Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Commissariat, M.S. "Part II: Shantidas Jawahari, the Great Jain Magnate of Gujarat in the 17th Century." In *Studies in the History of Gujarat: The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures of the University of Bombay for the Year 1930-1931*. 53-78. Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. for the University of Bombay, 1935.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Shantidas Jhaveri's Jain Temple of Chintamani in Saraspur at Ahmadabad." In *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)*, 101-02. London; Bombay; Calcutta; Madras: Oxford University Press, 1931.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Epigraphic and Other Records in Gujarat Relating to the Jain Saint Hiravijaya Suri." *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* III, no. 3 (1941): 146-58.

Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. "Notes on Jaina Art." In *Essays on Jaina Art*, edited by Richard Cohen, 69-90. New Delhi: Manohar, 2003.

Cort, John E. *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001a.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Communities, Temples, Identities: Art Histories and Social Histories in Western India." In *Ethnography and Personhood*, edited by Michael Meister, 101-28. Jaipur; New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Models of and for the Studies of the Jains." *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 2, no. 1 (1990a): 42-71.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Svetambar Murtipujak Jain Scripture in a Performative Context." In *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, edited by Jeffrey R. Timm, 171-94. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Intellectual Formation of a Jain Monk: A Svetambara Monastic Curriculum." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 29, no. 3 (2001b): 327-49.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Jain Knowledge Warehouses: Traditional Libraries in India." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 1 (1995): 77-87.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Twelve Chapters from the Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places, the Vividhartithakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri." In *The Clever Adulteress & Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*, edited by Phyllis Granoff, 245-90. Oakville; New York; London: Mosaic Press, 1990b.

\_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Defining Jainism: Reform in the Jain Tradition." In *Jain Doctrine and Practice: Academic Perspectives*, edited by Joseph T. O'Connell, 165-91. Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies, 2000.

Cronon, William. "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative." *The Journal of American History*, no. March (1992): 1347-76.

Davies, Philip. *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660 to 1947*. London: Murray, 1985.

Davis, Richard H. *Lives of Indian Images*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Desai, M.D. "Jaina Priests at the Court of Akbar." *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* IV, no. 1 (1942): 18-29.

Desai, Ratilal Dipchand. *Sheth Anandji Kalyanjini Pedhino Itihas (The History of the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi)*. In Gujarati. 2 vols. Ahmedabad: Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, 1983.

Dhaky, M.A. *Tirthadiraja Shri Shatrunjaya (Shatrunjaya: The King of Sacred Sites)*. In Gujarati. Ahmedabad: Sheth Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Western Indian Jaina Temple." In *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* edited by Madhusudan A. Dhaky and U.P. Shah, 319-84. Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavir Nirvana; Distributed by L.D. Institute of Indology, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Hutheesing Heritage: The Jain Temple at Ahmedabad*. Ahmedabad: Hutheesing Kesarising Trust, 1998.

Dirks, Nicholas B. *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Hollow Crown : Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Doshi, Saryu A. *Masterpieces of Jain Painting*. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jain Centres of Worship." *Marg* 35, no. 1 (1983): 15-30.

Dumont, Louis. "Nationalism and Communalism." In *Homo Hierarchicus : The Caste System and Its Implications*, 314-34. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Dundas, Paul. *The Jains*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992.

Eck, Diana L. *Darsan, Seeing the Divine Image in India*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Embree, Ainslie Thomas, Stephen N. Hay, and William Theodore De Bary, eds. *Sources*

*of Indian Tradition*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Faxian, and James Legge. *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon, A.D. 399-414, in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline. Translated and Annotated with a Corean Recension of the Chinese Text*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

Fergusson, James. *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Dodd Mead, 1874.

\_\_\_\_\_. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1876. Reprint, 1910.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Part III: Notes on the Mahomedan Architecture of Ahmedabad." In *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad*, edited by James Burgess, 67-100. London: W. Griggs & Sons Limited, 1900.

Fluegel, Peter. "The Ritual Cycle of the Terapanth Svetambara Jains." *Bulletin d'etudes Indiennes* 13-14 (1995-1996): 117-76.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jainism and the Western World: Jinmuktisuri and Georg Buhler and Other Early Encounters." *Jain Journal* 34, no. 1 (1999): 1-11.

Folkert, Kendall W. *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains*. Cambridge: Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, 1993.

Forbes, Alexander Kinloch. *Ras Mala: Or, Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India*. New ed. London: Richardson and Co., 1878.

Forbes, James, and Eliza Rosée Forbes Montalembert. *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*. 2d ed. London: R. Bentley, 1834.

Gaekwad, Fatesinhrao, and Virginia Fass. *The Palaces of India*. 1st ed. New York: Vendome Press, 1980.

*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. IV Ahmedabad*. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1879.

*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. VIII Kathiawar*. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1884.

Gillion, Kenneth. *Ahmedabad: A Study in Urban History*. Ahmedabad; Berkeley; Los Angeles: New Order Book; University of California Press, 1968.

Glaserapp, Helmuth von. *Jainism : An Indian Religion of Salvation*. Translated by Shridhar B. Shrotri. 1st ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers, 1999.

Gole, Susan. *Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989.

Gordon, Stewart. *The Marathas 1600-1818*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Government of Gujarat, ed. *Bhavnagar District, Gujarat State Gazetteers*. Ahmedabad: Government Printing, 1969.

Grabar, Oleg. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. Rev. and enl. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Granoff, Phyllis, ed. *The Clever Adulteress & Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*. Oakville; New York; London: Mosaic Press, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tales of Broken Limbs and Bleeding Wounds: Responses to Muslim Iconoclasm in Medieval India." *East and West* 41, no. 1-4 (1991): 189-203.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jain Pilgrimage: In Memory and Celebration of the Jinas." In *The Peaceful*

*Liberators: Jain Art from India*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 63-76. New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Medieval Jain Accounts of Mt. Girnar and Satrunjaya: Visible and Invisible Sacred Realms." *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* XLIX, no. no. 1-2 (1999): 143-70.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Householder as Shaman: Jain Biographies of Temple Builders." *East and West* 42, no. 2-4 (1992): 301-18.

Green, Anna, and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Gunratna Surishwar, Acharya. *A Visit to Shatrunjaya*. Mumbai: Adhyatmik Shikshan Kendra, 1998.

Guy, John. "Jain Manuscript Painting." In *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal, 89-100. New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994.

Harley, J. B. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power." In *The Iconography of Landscape : Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, edited by Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, 277-312. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Heber, Reginald. *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-25*. 2 vols., 1828.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. "Multi-Shrined Complexes: The Ordering of Space in Jaina Temple Architecture." *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001): 77-96.

Hope, Theodore C., Thomas Biggs, and James Ferguson. *Architecture at Ahmedabad, the Capital of Coozerat*. London: J. Murray, 1866.

Huntington, Susan L., and John C. Huntington. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. 1st ed. New York: Weatherhill, 1985.

*Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol XIX*. "Nayakanhatti to Parbhani." Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Ismail, Qadri. "Unmooring Identity: The Antinomies of Elite Muslim Self-Representation in Modern Sri Lanka." In *Unmaking the Nation : The Politics of Identity and History in Modern Sri Lanka*, edited by Pradeep Jeganathan, Qadri Ismail and Social Scientists' Association of Sri Lanka, 55-105. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 1995.

Jain, Gyan Das. "The Golden Thoughts of the Ideal Reformer, Shri Vijayanand Suri." In *Shree Atmaramji Shatabdi Granth*, 122-29. n.a.: n.a., n.a.

Jain, Jyotindra. "Spatial System and Ritual Use of Satrunjaya Hill." *Art and Architecture Research Papers* 17 (1980): 47-52.

Jain, K.C. *Jainism in Rajasthan*. Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, 1963.

Jain, Lakshmi C. *Indigenous Banking in India*. London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1929.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. *The Jaina Path of Purification*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Jeganathan, Pradeep. "Authorizing History, Ordering Land: The Conquest of Anuradhapura." In *Unmaking the Nation: The Politics of Identity and History in*

*Modern Sri Lanka*, edited by Pradeep Jeganathan, Qadri Ismail and Social Scientists' Association of Sri Lanka, 106-36. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 1995.

Jenkins, Keith. *Re-Thinking History*. London; New York: Routledge, 1991.

Johnson, Donald Clay. "The Western Discovery of Jain Temple Libraries." *Libraries and Culture* 28, no. 2 (1993): 189-203.

Julliard, Jacques. "The Intellectual, the Historian and the Journalist." In *Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century France: Mandarins and Samurais*, edited by Jeremy Jennings, 177-86. London: St Martin's Press, 1993.

Kanchansagarsuri, Aagamoddharakshishu Acharya. *Shri Shatrunjay Giriraj Darshan in Sculptures and Architecture*. Kapadwanj: Aagamoddharak Granthmala, 1982.

Kapadia, Hiralal Rasikdas. *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*. Ahmedabad: Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 2000.

Kapadia, Motichand Girdharlal. *Sheṭh Motishah*. 2nd edition. In Gujarati. Mumbai: Shri Godiji Jain Derasar and Trustees of Dharmada Department, VS 2047 (1991).

Koch, Ebba. "The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning." In *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, 38-60. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Lahiri, Nayanjot. "Archaeology and Identity in Colonial India." *Antiquity* 74 (2000): 687-92.

Laidlaw, James. *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy and Society among the Jains*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Langlois, Charles Victor, and Charles Seignobos. *Introduction to the Study of History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1898.

Laughlin, Jack C. *Ārādhakamūrti/Adhishtāyakamūrti--Popular Piety, Politics, and the Medieval Jain Temple Portrait*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003.

London, Christopher W. *Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India*. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994.

Luithle-Hardenberg, Andrea. "The Pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya. Salvation and Identity in Practice." Paper presented at the 7th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS, SOAS, London 2005.

Maclean, Kama. "Making the Colonial State Work for You: The Modern Beginnings of the Ancient Kumbh Mela in Allahabad." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 3 (2003): 873-905.

Madan, P. L. *Indian Cartography : A Historical Perspective*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997.

Malvania, Dalsukh, and Ambalal P. Shah, eds. *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts Muniraja Sri Punyavijayaji's Collection: Part I-III. Compiled by Muniraja Sri Punyavijayaji*. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1963-1968.

Makhesana, Vinod. "Geometric Formalism and Nature of the Land: Study of Satrunjayagiri, Jain Tirtha." MA Thesis. Ahmedabad: School of Architecture, 1991.

McCormick, Thomas. "The Jaina Ascetic as Manifestation of the Sacred." In *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*, edited by Robert H. Stoddard and Alan Morinis, 235-56. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1997.

Mehta, M.N., ed. *The Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in the Western India States Agency*. Rajkot: Western India States Agency Press, 1928.

Mehta, Makrand. "Social Base of Jain Entrepreneurs in the 17th Century: Shantidas Zaveri of Ahmedabad." In *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective: With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat, 17th to 19th Centuries* 91-113. Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991.

Mehta, Nanalal Chamanlal. "A Picture Roll from Gujarat (A.D. 1433)." *Indian Art and Letters* New Series VI, no. 2 (1932): 71-78.

Mehta, R. N. "An Old Map of Gujarat." In *Reflections on Indian Art and Culture*, ed. S.K. Bhowmik, 165-169. Vadodara: Department of Museums, Gujarat State, 1978.

Mehta, Shirin. "Akbar as Reflected in the Contemporary Jain Literature in Gujarat." *Social Scientist* 20, no. 9/10 (1992): 54-60.

Meister, Michael. "Ethnography, Art History, and the Life of Temples." In *Ethnography and Personhood*, edited by Michael Meister, 17-46. Jaipur; New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000.

Misra, S.C. *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1995.

Nawab, Sarabhai Manilal. *Jain Paintings*. 1st ed., *Jain Art Publication Series*; No. 2 Ahmedabad: Messrs Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, 1980.

Nyayvijaya, Muni. *Jain Tirthono Itihas*. In Gujarati. Ahmedabad: Shri Caritra Smaraka Granthmala, 1949.

Pal, Pratapaditya, ed. *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*. New York; Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994.

Pearson, Michael. *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Pike, Kenneth Lee. *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. 2nd rev. ed. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.

Prasad, Pushpa. "Jahangir and Jains: Study Based on Jain Historical Sources and Inscription." *Islamic Culture* LVI no. 1 (1982): 37-42.

Preziosi, Donald. "The Question of Art History." *Critical Inquiry* XVIII (1992): 363-86.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Richards, John F. *The Mughal Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Schwartzberg, Joseph F. "South Asian Cartography." In *The History of Cartography*, edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward, 293-509. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Scott, David. "Colonialism." *International Social Science Journal* 154 (1997): 517-26.

Shah, Kunjlata N. "Motichand Amichand: A Shipping Magnate of Bombay, 1782-1836." In *Studies in India's Maritime Trade*, edited by Amitabha Mukherjee, 96-105. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1999.

Shah, Natubhai. *Jainism: The World of Conquerors*. 2 vols. Brighton; Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 1998.

Shah, U.P. "Vardhamana-Vidya-Pata." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* IX (1941): 41-51.

\_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Jaina-Rūpa-Mandana*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. *More Documents of Jaina Paintings and Gujarati Paintings of Sixteenth and Later Centuries*. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1976.

Shastri, Hariprasad G. "Detailed Accounts in the Hutheesing Temple Inscriptions." In *Hutheesing Heritage: The Jain Temple at Ahmedabad*, ed. by M.A. Dhaky. Ahmedabad: Hutheesing Kesarising Trust, 1998.

Silberman, Robert Bruce. "Maps and Art: The Pleasures and Power of Worldviews." In *World Views: Maps & Art: 11 September 1999-2 January 2000*, 26-55. Minneapolis: Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum: Distributed by the University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Singh, Harihar. *Jain Temples of Western India*. Varanasi: Parshvanath Vidyasharam Research Institute, 1982.

Sopher, David E. "Pilgrim Circulation in Gujarat." *Geographical Review* 58, no. 3 (1968): 392-425.

Spodek, Howard. "On the Origins of Gandhi's Political Methodology: The Heritage of Kathiawad and Gujarat." *Journal of Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (1971): 361-72.

Stevenson, Margaret Sinclair. *The Heart of Jainism*. London: Oxford University Press, 1915.

Sunavala, A.J. *Vijaya Dharma Suri: His Life and Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Talwar, Kay, and Kalyan Krishna. *Indian Pigment Paintings on Cloth*. Ahmedabad: B.U. Balsari on behalf of Calico Museum of Textiles, 1979.

Tartakov, Gary Michael. *The Durga Temple at Aihole: A Historiographical Study*, . Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Changing Views of India's Art History." In *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*, edited by Catherine B. Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf, 15-36. New Delhi; Madras: American Institute of Indian Studies; Swadharma Swarajya Sangha; Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1994.

Thapar, Romila. *Time as a Metaphor of History : Early India, Krishna Bharadwaj Memorial Lecture* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

*The Palitana Jain Case*. Ahmedabad: The City Printing Press, c. 1926.

Thongchai, Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Tillotson, G. H. R. *Paradigms of Indian Architecture : Space and Time in Representation and Design*. Richmond: Curzon, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Tradition of Indian Architecture : Continuity, Controversy, and Change since 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Tilly, Charles. "The Trouble with Stories." In *The Social Worlds of Higher Education: Handbook for Teaching in a New Century*, edited by Ronald Aminzade and Bernice A. Pescosolido. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1991.

Timberg, Thomas A., and C.V. Aiyar. "Informal Credit Markets in India." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 33, no. 1 (1984): 43-59.

Titze, Kurt. *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1998.

Tod, James. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India*. London: Smith, 1829.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Travels in Western India, Embracing a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains, and the Most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith between Rajpootana and the Indus; with an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwalla*. London: W. H. Allen, 1839. Reprint, Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1971.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

Tripathi, Dwijendra. *The Dynamics of a Tradition: Kasturbhai Lalbhai and His Entrepreneurship*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1981.

Tuan, Yi-fu. "Maps and Art: Identity and Utopia." In *World Views : Maps & Art : 11 September 1999-2 January 2000*, edited by Robert Bruce Silberman, 10-24. Minneapolis: Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum : Distributed by the University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Turnbull, David. *Maps Are Territories : Science Is an Atlas : A Portfolio of Exhibits*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Vidyavijaya, Muni. *A Monk and a Monarch*. Translated by Dolarrai R. Mankad. Ujjain: Deepchandji Banthia, 1944.

Vidyavijaya, Muni. *Surisvara Ane Samrata [King of the Gods and the King of the Earth]*. Bhavnagar: Shri Yashovijay Jain Granthmala Vyavsthapak Mandal, 1979.

Weber, Albert. "The Satrunjaya Mahatmyam." *Indian Antiquary* 30 (1901): 239-51, 88-308.

Wood, Denis. *The Power of Maps*. New York; London: The Guilford Press, 1992.